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EARLY SOUTHERN  
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The Museum of Early Southern  
Decorative Arts

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*For my parents to whom I owe my interest  
in archaeology and history.  
And for the memory of Steve who  
loved discovery.*

—BLR

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BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG



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*Editor's Preface:*

*Since 1973 Brad Rauschenberg, MESDA's Director of Research, has been compiling information on two of the South's early and most colorful potters, Andrew Duche and John Bartlam. The discovery of the first piece of pottery that could be attributed to Duche in 1982 and its subsequent acquisition by MESDA was the impetus for an extensive comprehensive biography of Duche that has taken Rauschenberg until this year to complete. As Duche's story began to unfold, Rauschenberg realized that it could not be told in a vacuum, for his research included information on other Savannah River potters that dispelled some of the myths propagated by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ceramic historians and helped bridge the gap between the histories of both Duche and Bartlam. The result was the two articles that appear in this issue of the Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts, "Andrew Duche: A Potter 'a Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks,'" and "Other Savannah River Potters, 1736-1814," which will be followed by Rauschenberg's article on Bartlam in the November issue of the Journal.*

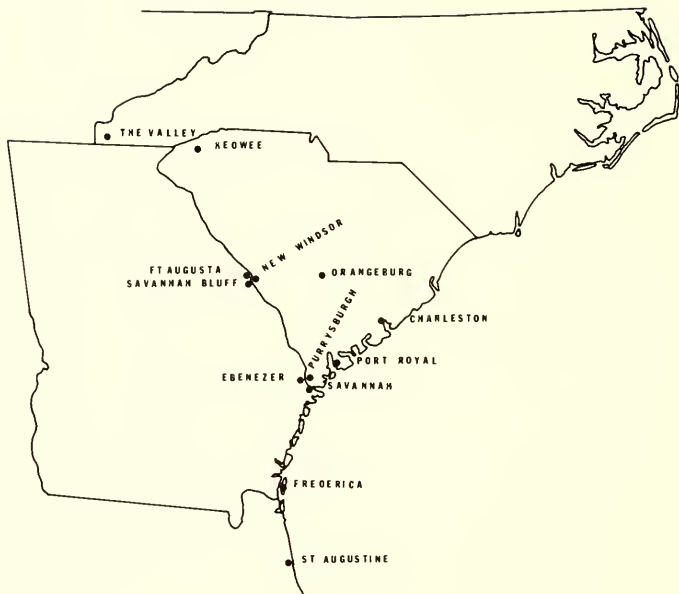


Figure 1. The points of Andrew Duche's travels in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia from 1736-48, both documented and surmised, are illustrated on this map. The reported sources of kaolin — New Windsor, Savannah Bluff, and the Valley — are noticeably located in this range. Line drawing by the author. MRF S-15,292.



## *Andrew Duche: A Potter "A Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks"*

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

No single American potter has been the subject of more speculative discussion than Andrew Duche. Ceramic historians have long benefited from contemporary references to Duche's ceramic history and political involvements. Duche, the son of a well-known Philadelphia potter, produced pottery in both South Carolina and Georgia, traveling that area (fig. 1) extensively, and he has had the reputation of being one of the first American or English experimenters with true porcelain. No examples of his experimental porcelain have been found to date.<sup>1</sup> In fact, an extensive examination of all the records that relate to him indicates that his attempts were unsuccessful beyond the first stages of production. There is little doubt that he knew what was involved in the process of making porcelain — namely kaolin — but it would seem that he was unable to put his knowledge to the task.

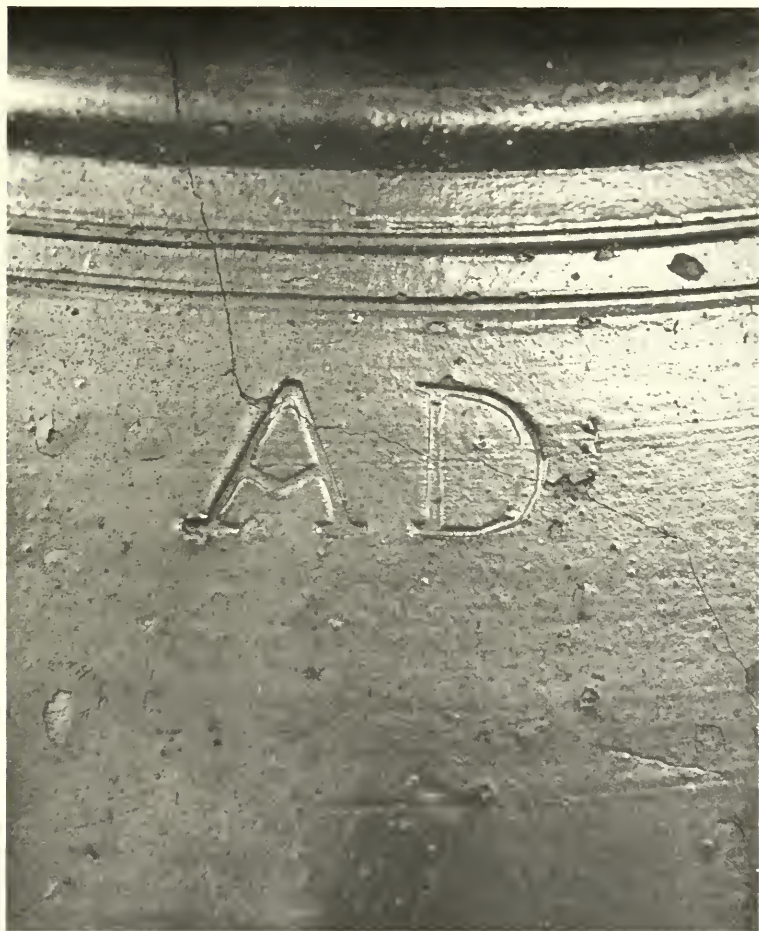
On the other hand, examples of Duche's other work have come to light. In the early 1980s, Howard Smith, a ceramics collector in Mayodan, North Carolina, located the only known marked example that can be attributed to Duche's mainline production: utilitarian, low-fired earthenware. The discovery, an unassuming lead-glazed earthenware jar (fig. 2) in relatively good condition, probably made in Savannah between 1736-42, was found in a Jacksonville, Florida, collection some years ago at a flea market in that area. The Savannah attribution is based on the six years Duche produced pottery in that town versus his short, nine-month period of production in Charleston during 1734-35. It is possible that the jar was made in Charleston, but it is more likely to have been made in Savannah.



*Figure 2. Lead-glazed earthenware jar marked AD, attributed to Andrew Duche, Savannah, Georgia, 1736-43. HOA 13", mouth diameter 6 3/8", base diameter, 6 1/8", waist diameter 10 1/2". MRF S-11,554, accession 3440.*

The body of the jar is a light buff color which further supports a coastal attribution. The lead glaze on both the exterior and the interior is a dark brown matte. The piece lacks the gloss often seen on lead-glazed vessels, probably because of a high iron oxide content in the lead glaze which in this case indicates over-firing. This high content also produced the glaze's opaque quality — much like a body that has a slip on the surface, although there is no evidence of a slip. This can be seen underneath one of the two

pulled handles, both of which slightly touch the body throughout the loop of the handle. The slight contact is incidental, not intentional. With the exception of two parallel lines applied just below and around the neck and two impressed initials, AD (fig. 2a), which are just below these lines, the jar is plain. This plainness coupled with the fact that so little is known about eighteenth-century earthenware ordinarily would have caused the jar to be passed unrecognized had the potter not marked it so clearly, undoubtedly following an example set by his father, who also marked some of his utilitarian ceramics.



*Figure 2a. Detail of Figure 2. Mark size: HOA 9/16", WOA 1 1/4".*

The nature of the AD mark is unusual in itself. The letters are proportionately taller than the impressed marks normally found on pottery, and each initial is an individual impression; i.e., the initials were not made by a single stamp. The character of the letters can be classified as early eighteenth-century and earlier. The chevronlike cross bar in the A is often seen on English and European ceramics and other decorative arts.<sup>2</sup> Aside from those from his father's pottery, the only other example of American ceramics with a chevron cross bar in an A is a lead-glazed earthenware porringer with the incised initials AC and the date 1720. This piece was excavated intact in Yorktown, Virginia, at the 'Poor Potter' site.<sup>3</sup>

The discovery and examination of this jar led to extensive research which in turn produced what is believed to be examples of stoneware made by Duche. Excavation of a lot at the Frederica, Georgia, archaeological site uncovered stoneware sherds that can be attributed to Duche. This discovery is extremely important, for it indicates that Duche was one of the earliest potters to produce marketable stoneware in the South, and definitely the first south of Virginia.

Andrew Duche's work, both as a potter and experimenter, was only part of a personal history filled with disappointments, frustration, discontent, politics, Indians, travel, and eventual financial security. His thinking and emotions were affected profoundly by the events of the worlds around him, especially in South Carolina and Georgia. The result of these effects — Duche's development as an impetuous and inflammatory politico disliked by many of his contemporaries — is evident through a thorough study of his life and the histories of his environments.

Andrew Duche was the son of Philadelphia potter Anthony Duche and his wife Ann, nee Doz. He was born on 22 November 1710 in Philadelphia at 7:45 a.m. and was baptized by the Reverend M. Jener, a French minister.<sup>4</sup> Anthony Duche's father was Jacques Duche, a Huguenot who fled from his home in La Rochelle, France, where as a Protestant he had been persecuted by the Catholics under the rule of Louis XIV. He left France with his Bible, pregnant wife, and nine other children, went to London and became an English citizen. Although there is a tendency to refer to both Anthony and Andrew as French, they actually were English. Anthony was born in England; he was the child Jacques's wife was bearing at the time of their departure from France. Anthony arrived in Philadelphia about 1700, supposedly on the same ship as William Penn who, according to tradition, borrowed 30 from him.<sup>5</sup> He

married Ann on 19 June 1705, was a merchant on Front Street by 1721, and the earliest indication that he also was a potter was an advertisement of 26 January 1725: "There is a large Square of Ground, on the upper end of Chestnut Street, a little above the House of Dr. Charles Sovers, over against the Pott-House belong to Mr. Anthony Duche." Anthony did not run this notice himself, but the reference to his pot-house (fig. 3) implies that it had been constructed some time before 1725. His mercantile business was moved to Chestnut Street in 1743, and he remained there until he died.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 3. Detail of Plan of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by Nicholas Scull, 1762, Philadelphia. The arrow indicates the location of Anthony Duche's pottery (1725?-1762). Photograph courtesy of I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Prints Division, New York Public Library, New York City. MRF S-15,291.

Archaeological investigations in Philadelphia have revealed many sherds attributed to Anthony's pottery, all of which, so far, are only salt-glazed stoneware representing both a Westerwald and an English style.<sup>7</sup> From the beginning of the seventeenth century on, German stoneware of the Westerwald region of the Rhineland was exported to England and America. Excavations in Philadelphia, as



well as other cities along the eastern seaboard, have produced evidence of the popularity of Westerwald ware in America. English brown stoneware was also in high demand.<sup>8</sup>

As these two types of imported pottery sold so well, it was only natural that American potters would imitate them. Marked examples of both styles from Anthony's pottery demonstrate his apparent success doing so. It is not known where he learned his trade, although it is likely it was in London. Archaeology has revealed kilns which demonstrate that Dutch stoneware and tin-glaze potters were working in London from the late seventeenth century, and Anthony's abilities indicate that he apprenticed under one of them.<sup>9</sup> He was about eighteen when he arrived in Philadelphia and had probably already completed his indenture. If Anthony learned his trade after his arrival in Philadelphia, his master is unknown. His marriage was the first recorded evidence of his presence in America.

Some of the sherds excavated from Anthony's pottery in Philadelphia exhibit the initials AD. A close examination of Anthony's marks compared with that on the Andrew-attributed jar demonstrate a difference strong enough to merit separate attributions but similar enough to warrant a father-son or master-apprentice relationship. Apparently, Anthony's pottery had three distinct marks that are difficult to arrange chronologically. The mark illustrated in fig. 4 appears to be the least-used mark of the three. It is a plain, single-impression, raised AD in an intaglio rectangle. This mark, as well as the other two, has the chevronlike crossbar in the A illustrated in fig. 2a. This letter style may have been used in Anthony's master's pottery, or Anthony may have seen it on the imported stoneware bearing the AR cipher made during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14). The initials of all three different marks from Anthony's pottery are large and distinct. Figs. 5 and 6 represent the second type of Anthony's marks. Several examples are known.<sup>10</sup> This, too, is in an intaglio rectangle; however, the rectangle surrounds a raised quatrefoil decorative border. Within this, again, are the raised initials AD. These initials differ from those in fig. 4; the A and the D have a double-line backing and are separated by two vertically-placed, raised stars. The third type (fig. 7) is a shield-shaped impression. This mark has not been encountered as frequently as the second; it appears as a decorative element on the lower terminal handle of a mug. In this raised border shield are other raised elements: an AD and four stars. Three of the stars are placed over the initials, and one is located under the initials.



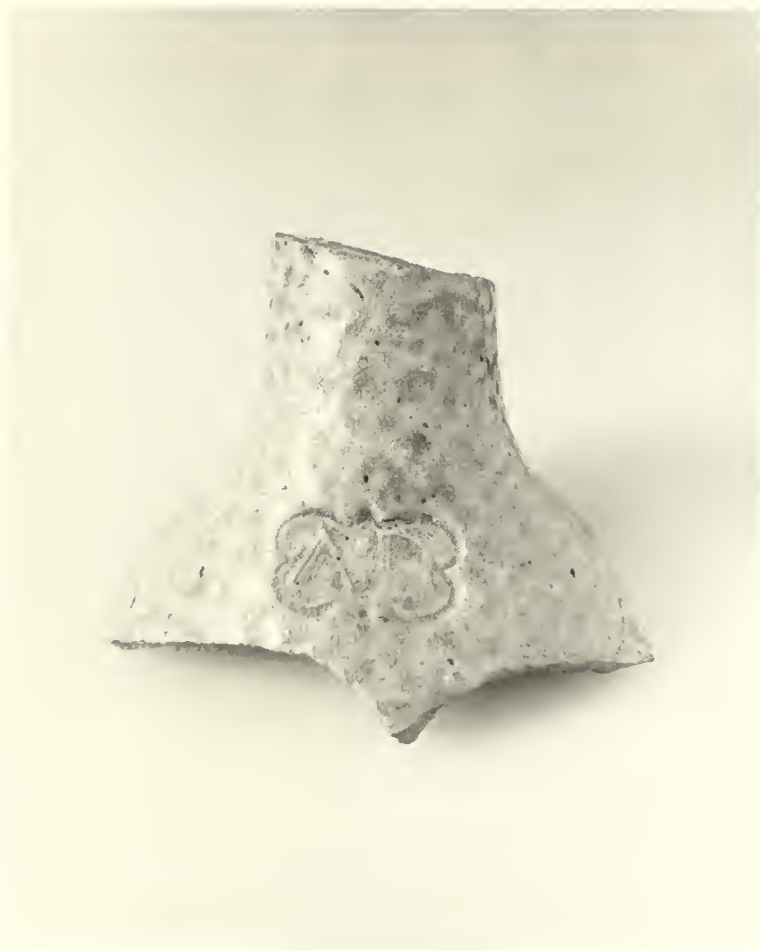
*Figure 4. Detail of a handle lower terminal from a Westerwald type, salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot, 1725?-62, showing Anthony Duche's impressed mark, Type 1. Mark size: HOA 3/4", WOA 7/8". The chamber pot was excavated at 114 South Front Street in Philadelphia. Collection of Independence National Historic Park, Philadelphia. MRF S-15,293.*



*Figure 5. Detail from base of handle on a Westerwald type, salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot, 1725?-62, showing Anthony Duche's impressed mark, Type II. Dimensions not recorded. The chamber pot was excavated from 8 South Front Street in Philadelphia. This mark also appears on Anthony Duche's English-type salt-glazed stoneware tankards. Collection of Independence National Historic Park, Philadelphia. MRF S-15,294.*

The variations of the mark used by Anthony's pottery clearly demonstrate the difference between the salt-glazed stoneware examples of Anthony's pottery and Andrew's Savannah lead-glazed earthenware example. A comparison of the father-son pieces reveals a definite difference in the marks of each: Anthony's letters are raised whereas Andrew's letters are impressed and lack the decorative borders of his father's marks. The dissimilarity can be viewed as an example of genetic development: the father and son marks shared basic qualities, yet since they were different people, their interpretations of the same initials echo that relationship.





*Figure 6. Salt-glazed stoneware cook pot, or pipkin, handle sherd, Philadelphia, c. 1746, showing Anthony Duche's impressed mark, Type II. Sherd measurements: HOA 2 3/4", WOA 2 3/4". Handle diameter 1 3/16". The mark was at the bottom of the hollow handle when the vessel was in use. This sherd was excavated at Brunswick Town, North Carolina. Collection of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh. MRF S-13,753.*



*Figure 7. Handle base terminal on an English-type salt-glazed stoneware tankard, Philadelphia, 1725?-62, showing Anthony Duche's impressed mark, Type III. Mark size: HOA 7/16", WOA 3/8". Courtesy of the Atwater Kent Museum, History Museum of Philadelphia, acc. 81.9.1. MRF S-15,295.*

Anthony had four other sons besides Andrew: Anthony, Jr. (1706-72), Jacob (1708-88), James (1716-50), and Philip, who was born and died in 1724. Anthony also had two daughters: Elizabeth, born in 1712, and Ann, born in 1720. Andrew probably learned his trade from his father, possibly with all his brothers, although James was the only brother other than Andrew who pursued the career in earnest after 1731.<sup>11</sup>

Andrew paid Benjamin Franklin eleven shillings for the publication of an advertisement in three issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1730. According to Franklin's records, the notice first appeared in number 81, which was dated 4 June 1730.<sup>12</sup> On 7 January 1731, Andrew, his father, and brothers Anthony, Jr., and Jacob petitioned the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, asking for the "sole privilege of making Stone-ware within [the] Province" for twenty-one years, explaining that they had spent several years applying themselves to the art. They also requested that the importation of stoneware from nearby colonies be discouraged. Their petition was denied the following day.<sup>13</sup>

Nine months later, on 7 October 1731, Andrew's wife Hannah was buried at Philadelphia's Christ Episcopal Church; the date of their marriage is unknown. After mourning Hannah's loss for a scant two months, Andrew married Mary Mason at the same church on 12 December 1731.<sup>14</sup> About a year later, on 20 January 1733, Joseph Breintnall, secretary of the Library Company of Philadelphia, recorded the delivery of two issues of the *London Magazine* to the Philadelphia Library Company, adding that he had received them from "Thomas Hopkinson by Andrew Duche."<sup>15</sup> Why Andrew was the deliverer has not been determined.

Between 20 January 1733 and the fall of 1734, Andrew left Philadelphia and moved to Charleston, South Carolina (see fig. 1). The reasons for his move were not documented; however, Andrew's circumstances in Philadelphia explain it well enough. At the time of his second marriage, Andrew and his brothers were still working in the family pottery. Andrew, over twenty-one, with a new wife, probably felt the need to develop a business of his own, but if he built it in Philadelphia, he would naturally be competing with the family business. Charleston was a logical choice as a site for a new pottery. There were no potters in Charleston before his arrival; in fact, he was the earliest recorded potter south of Virginia. He probably read Peter Purry's description of South Carolina published in the August, September, and October 1732 issues of the

*Gentleman's Magazine*. A portion of the narrative in particular contained a compelling message: "There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no Earthen-ware but what comes from England . . . so that a Pot-house . . . would succeed very well . . . There is a kind of sand and earth which would be very proper for these purposes."<sup>16</sup> The *Gentleman's Magazine* was popularly subscribed to in the Colonies, and it was quoted in the newspapers with some regularity. The records of the Library Company of Philadelphia reveal that the 1732 issues of this magazine were in their collection shortly after publication. It is possible that they were the issues Andrew delivered to the Company in early 1733.

In 1730 the estimated white population in Charleston was 2,000, and by 1740, 3,000.<sup>17</sup> As this was the largest population concentration south of Philadelphia, Duche must have decided that Charleston would be a good place for the sale of his pottery, especially since any earthenware found in Charleston before Duche's arrival was imported, either from Europe or domestically. Advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette* indicate that ceramics were frequently shipped there, particularly from Europe.<sup>18</sup> Philadelphia earthenware was also exported to Charleston, perhaps providing Andrew with a vision of consumers crying out for cheaper, Charleston-made earthenware!<sup>19</sup>

Andrew probably left Philadelphia in the late spring or early summer of 1734; this supposition is based on Anthony Duche's activities at that time. Advertisements in the *American Weekly Mercury* for July and August 1734 indicate that he tried to sell his pottery then. It appears that this attempt, as well as one in 1737, was unsuccessful, for in Anthony's 9 June 1762 estate inventory, "Unburn't Earthen ware, Tiles & Slugs & Abt . . . 2 Load Clay . . . 2 Clay Mills & 3 Potters wheels" were listed.<sup>20</sup> If Andrew left before July 1734, Anthony had no one to run the pottery, for James was only eighteen years old at that time. He may have decided, for the sake of his mercantile business, to rid himself of the burden of maintaining his pottery.

Andrew was in Charleston before the last months of 1734. On 9 November 1734, Robert Johnson, the governor of South Carolina, reported to the London Lords for Trade and Plantations that the only addition to the manufactures created and trade carried on described in his last letter was "a Potter sett up here who makes Course Potters ware."<sup>21</sup> The earlier letter, in reality a part of a sequence of reports to Great Britain, has yet to be found, and the fre-

quency of Johnson's reports is not known. This is unfortunate, for such a letter and its date might suggest the time of Duche's arrival in South Carolina.<sup>22</sup>

There is little doubt that the potter to whom Johnson referred was Andrew Duche. What is most interesting about Johnson's report is the statement that Duche was already turning out "Course Potters ware" at the time the 9 November 1734 report was made. If Andrew was in Charleston by July 1734, he had roughly three months to negotiate for land, hire workmen for the construction of the pottery and kiln and perhaps an assistant or apprentice, locate a fuel and clay source, experiment with the new clay and kiln, and finally, produce the pottery itself. It need not have been worthy of sale, but it most certainly had to have been worthy of note. Three months appears to have been a short time to accomplish all this, but, in actuality, it was well within the realm of possibility. At Bethabara, North Carolina, a Moravian community established near what is now Winston-Salem, in 1755, the first potter to settle there, Gottfried Aust (1722-88), arrived on 4 November of that year. On 15 November, he began searching for the resources necessary for pottery manufacture, and by the middle of December, he was producing pottery somewhat successfully.<sup>23</sup>

Five months after Johnson's report, Duche confidently placed an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 5 April 1735: "This is to give notice to all Gentlemen, Planters, and others, that they may be supplied with Butter pots, milk-pans and all other sorts of Earthen ware of this Country make, by whole sale or retail, at much cheaper rate than can be imported into this Province from England or any other Place, by ANDREW DUCHE Potter next door but one to Mr. Yeomans, or at his Pot-house on the Bay." He was producing what was probably lead-glazed earthenware, for he used the term in his notice, and he and his family generally were specific about their products.<sup>24</sup> This indicates Duche's versatility, for it suggests that he was able to convert from making stoneware in Philadelphia to lead-glazed earthenware in Charleston, where the conditions warranted such a transformation. In the Charleston vicinity during that period, clay suitable for the production of low-fired ceramics like earthenware was available. Apparently, higher-fired stoneware clay was not, for no Charleston-made stoneware has been recorded by archaeologists or historians.<sup>25</sup>

Duche gave his customers two locations (fig. 8) at which they could purchase their goods. They could go to his outlet (and



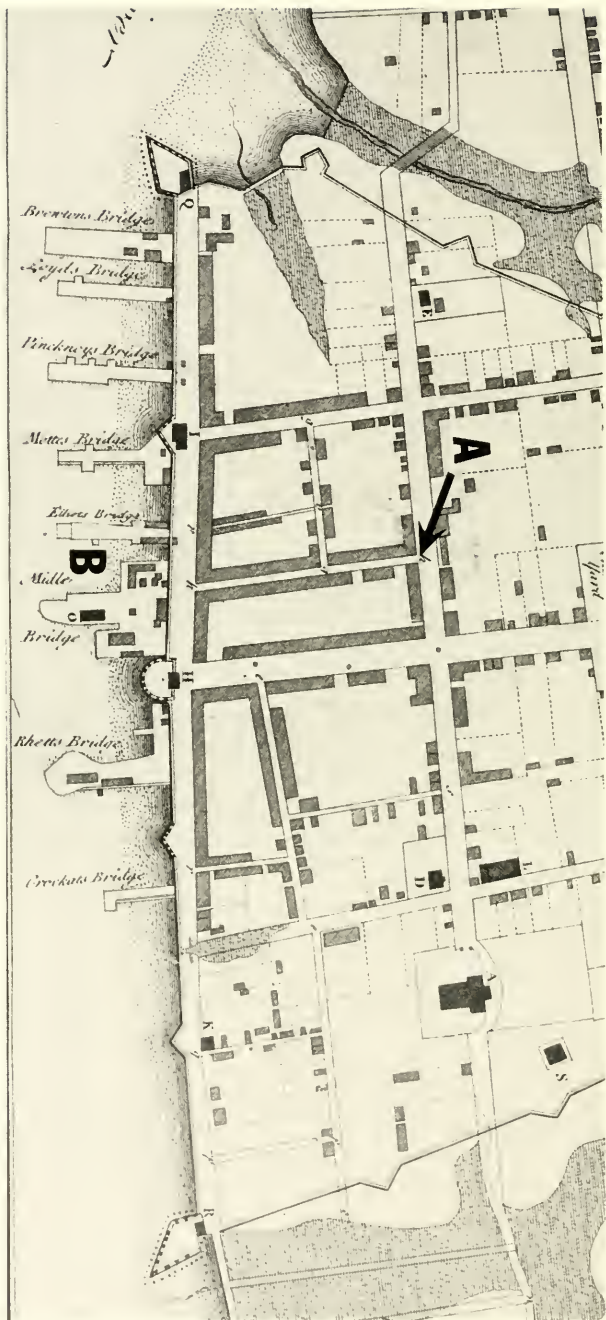


Figure 8. Detail from Bishop Robert's and William Henry Toms's The Ichnography of Charles-Town at High Water, London, 9 June 1739. The upper end of Eltham [Middle] Street (A) and the Bay (B) are shown. MRF S-8376.

perhaps his residence) or they could apply at his pottery near water. The Yeomans of the notice was William Yeomans, a Charleston merchant who died in 1752. An attempt to determine Yeomans's location in Charleston proved inconclusive. Yeomans advertised in the South Carolina Gazette frequently in 1735, but he never gave an address. There is a possibility that Yeomans's business (a partnership with Gabriel Escott) may have been carried on in Elliott Street (fig. 9) in 1735, for in 1740 Lewis Janvier, a Charleston gold and silversmith, advertised on 1 March of that year that he had "removed one door lower than Mr. Yeomans in Elliott-street." Therefore, would-be purchasers of Duche's earthenware may have inquired for him in Elliott Street, if Yeomans was there before 1740.<sup>26</sup>

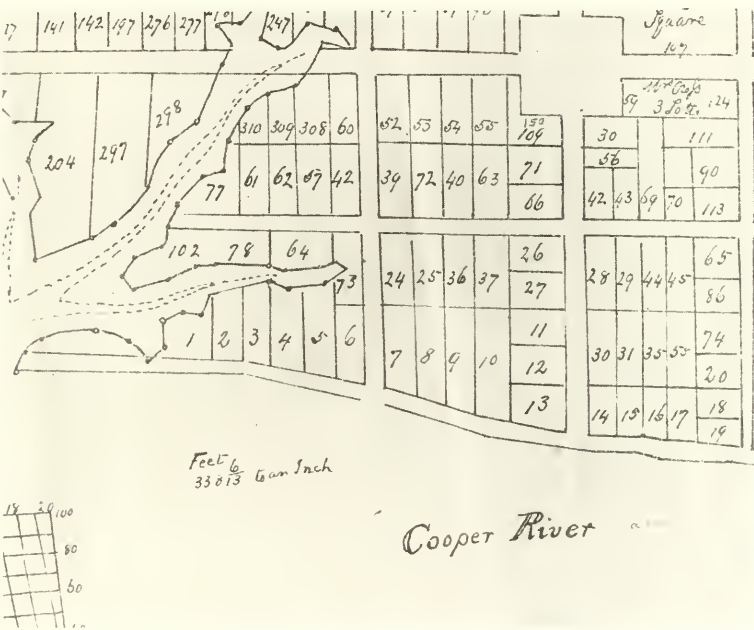


Figure 9. Detail from A Platt of Charles-Town, or Grand Model, 1725, copied in 1908 from the original (21" x 13 1/2"), showing the Charleston town lots (37 and 10 and 26, 27, 11, 12, 13) through which Elliott [Middle] Street was cut about 1732. The original map was accompanied by a separate list of the town lots and original grantees. Collection of South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston. MRF S-15.284.

There are no records of Duche's having purchased any Charleston property nor are there any of his being granted any. He either rented a building and lived in part of the structure with his wife, or there was a business at his outlet, and the owner handled pottery sales for Duche. A rental agreement would not necessarily be recorded in Charleston deeds, as leases were only recorded if they were being sold; most land documents of the period were concerned with conveyances and sales. Therefore, Duche's salesroom cannot be given a definite location. His pottery also cannot be pinned down, nor is it known from whom Duche may have acquired the property. The bay was described in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 23 August 1735 as being the wharf or street from Craven's Bastion to White Point, and it was later known as East Bay Street. The area described is large, and at present there is no way of discovering where on the bay Duche might have built his pottery.

The establishment of a pottery requires money, time, and apprentices. It is therefore interesting that, after constructing a pottery and advertising production, five months later, on 4 October 1735, Duche applied for a grant of 150 acres of land, located 130 miles northwest of Charleston, in New Windsor, South Carolina (see fig. 1). His plat was drawn two years later, on 29 June 1737, by Charles Gillespie, the deputy surveyor of South Carolina, and the official grant was dated 3 February 1738 and recorded on 12 May 1738 (See Appendix 1). These dates demonstrate that the process of granting land was a slow one. It is possible that Duche may have been interested in the New Windsor area as early as April 1735. It is known from Duche's own testimony of 1743 (See Appendix 2) that he was in New Windsor before that date, and thus he may have moved to his lands after he applied for them but before they were legally his.<sup>27</sup> There appears to be no documented answer to the question of why Duche applied for the New Windsor land. Apparently, he intended to live there. It is possible he never intended to stay in Charleston. A grant of land from New Windsor also provided him the opportunity and security of owning property without paying for it.

It has been suggested that while Duche was in New Windsor he was making redware (earthenware), but there is no documentation of it.<sup>28</sup> This information came from a source not yet located; however, it may also have been based on information from the 1743 memorial. After Duche recorded the beginnings of his New Windsor settlement, he indicated that he was proposing in July 1736 a "trade and Manufactory . . . to be carried on."<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it does



not seem too likely that he was operating a pottery, although he may have been locating clays and constructing living quarters. If so, it is more likely that he was planning to produce stoneware, the medium with which he was probably more comfortable. He might have believed that he could find clay in New Windsor that would allow salt-glazed stoneware production. Unfortunately, the wording in the memorial, perhaps purposely, is too vague to generate more than mere speculation. There was certainly a demand for pottery in the new frontier town, and Duche may have seen the potential for success in his field, more so than in Charleston where competing with popular imports was difficult. In the Backcountry imports were expensive and not as easy to acquire, and there would have been a higher demand for pottery made in the area.

Another possibility for Duche's move can be found in the history of New Windsor itself. The township was founded in 1735, but was not named New Windsor until July 1736. Before then, it was part of an area (fig. 10) that extended from the point where Town Creek enters the Savannah River to a point seven miles above Fort Moore. Fort Moore had been, since its establishment in 1716, a "nucleus for the most important Indian trading town that provincial South Carolina developed."<sup>30</sup> After New Windsor's establishment, with a population in 1738 of about 300, it replaced Fort Moore's importance as an Indian trade center and a link with the Backcountry, and a big Indian trading company, the Cherokee Company, was operating there before 1744.<sup>31</sup> Duche may have moved to New Windsor to involve himself in the burgeoning and profitable Indian trade.<sup>32</sup> There is also the possibility that Duche's "trade and Manufactory . . . propos'd to be carried on" indicates that he had two different money-making ventures in view: Indian trade and pottery manufacture.

At this point Duche's history became intertwined with Georgia's. His actions in that colony are best explained by a brief description of Georgia's founding as well as the activities of its Indian traders and agents. On 9 June 1732, Georgia, an idealistic and altruistic colony developed by General James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785) and John Percival (1683-1748), the first Earl of Egmont, was chartered. Unlike the other colonies, which were run by monarch-appointed governors, it was a corporation directed by a board of men, numbering between fifteen and twenty-four, known as the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." They had the power to pass laws and regulations for governing the colony, appoint a governor, establish courts, and distribute land to



Figure 10. Detail of A Map of South Carolina and Part of Georgia engraved by Thomas Jefferys, London, 20 October 1757. This part of the map engraved from William Bull's, Captain Gascoign's, Hugh Bryan's, and William DeBrahm's survey shows the locations of New Windsor and Fort Moore on the Savannah River. MRF S-11,836, acc. 3024-2.

settlers, but they were not allowed to receive a salary or any other profit from the colony. The colony was to be a home for the poor and unfortunate who would be granted land to farm or develop various products, such as silk, drugs, wine, oil, and dyes, for English manufactures. It was also designed to be a buffer zone, protecting South Carolina from the Spanish threat at St. Augustine. The use of slaves was prohibited, and the land grants were tail male rather than fee-simple.<sup>33</sup>

The Earl of Egmont served as president of Georgia's board of trustees, but he never visited the province, unlike Oglethorpe, who brought the first load of settlers to Georgia in 1732. Oglethorpe spent most of his time in the colonies fighting the Spaniards along the military road connecting Fort St. Simons and Frederica on Great St. Simons Island until he returned to England in 1743.<sup>34</sup> He was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Georgia in 1735 after he met with the Georgia trustees and asked them to pass an Indian trade act similar to South Carolina's.

The Indian trading rivalry between Georgia and South Carolina was fierce, mainly because there was no clear definition of the borders between the two provinces around the New Windsor and Fort Moore area. Each province felt that they had exclusive right to the trade in the area, especially after (Fort) Augusta was founded in 1735 at the head of the Savannah River where several important Indian trails to both the Creek and Cherokee Nations intersected. After 1735, a period of political unrest followed the passing of Georgia's Indian trade act which required all Indian traders to have Georgia licenses, and conflicts between the traders of the two provinces, the Indians, and the Indian agents erupted.<sup>35</sup>

Georgia's agent to the Cherokee Nation, Roger Lacey, was appointed by Oglethorpe. He was authorized to seize the effects of traders who did not have Georgia licenses, and it was understood that he was in charge of the trade in New Windsor.<sup>36</sup> Apparently, Lacey not only seized the goods of Indian traders without Georgia licenses, he also did his best to involve them in Georgia's Indian trade at the expense of other provinces. On 15 December 1736, John Gardiner, a licensed South Carolina trader complained to the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly of Lacey's activities, swearing that "Lacey used many Allurements and Persuasions to induce [him] to go down to Georgia, and gave him encouragement that he should recover his goods [which Lacey had seized]."<sup>37</sup>

In the text of his memorial, Duche described his own meeting with Lacey:

[In] July 1736 . . . Mr. Roger Lacey, the Georgia agent to the Cherokee Indians arrived at New Windsor on his way to the said Indians; Who having been inform'd of the Trade and Manufactory propos'd to be carried on by the said Duche persuaded him to go to Savannah to Mr. Oglethorpe, Who would give him all reasonable Encouragement; And to remove all Duche's Objections, he assured him that the Trustees had promised him the said Lacey before he left England, That the Tenures of the Lands should be alter'd to Fee Simple and that the use of Negroes should be allowed to the inhabitants.<sup>38</sup>

Did Lacey encourage Duche to go to Savannah (see fig. 1) to set up a pottery in order to prevent him from Indian trading under South Carolina's auspices? It is possible that he did. An argument Lacey might have used in persuading him was the high cost of South Carolina Indian Trading licenses — £80 for the license and a sixpence duty on every deer skin.<sup>39</sup> Yet it is just as possible that Lacey's energies were directed solely toward the cause of setting up a pottery in Savannah, which was probably very much in need of domestic sources for all kinds of goods, including earthenware.

For whatever the reason, on 1 August 1736, in Savannah, Duche rented a house from the widow of Dr. William Cox at 12 per annum. Dr. Cox and his wife Frances had arrived in Savannah on 1 February 1733 and had been assigned lot 6 in Savannah. Cox died in April 1733, and according to Frances, left her his property. She married Lieutenant James Watts on 1 June 1734 and he died the same month, after which she left Georgia.<sup>40</sup> If Cox was granted lot 6 in Savannah and Duche rented the house from his widow, then it is possible that upon his arrival in Savannah he lived in a house on that lot.

Duche must have met with Oglethorpe about setting up his pottery before 22 November 1736 because Oglethorpe left the colony for England on that date and did not return until September 1738. It is impossible to pinpoint the Duche-Oglethorpe meeting, for William Stephens, the secretary of the province, did not arrive in Savannah until November 1737.<sup>41</sup> Researchers, then, are deprived of any possible records that might have mentioned Duche's early years in Savannah and the construction of his kiln. Thomas Causton (1692-1745? 1746?), Savannah's magistrate and storekeeper at that time, kept a diary, but it has since been either lost or destroyed, and his letters of 26 November 1736 and 24 February 1737 did not men-

tion Duche.<sup>42</sup> Duche's memorial gives no date for his meeting with Oglethorpe, nor was any mention of Duche or his manufactory recorded until the notation in the trustees' general accounts. A search of the preceding fiscal year's — 2 April 1736 — 2 April 1737 — accounts failed to reveal any listing of a pottery.<sup>43</sup> In the Earl of Egmont's 1738 accounts the pottery was listed as it had been in the trustees' accounts for the same years. It would appear, then, that any information regarding the building of Duche's pottery has either been lost, or it was overlooked in both England and Georgia until it was completed in 1738.

Oglethorpe knew that there was clay suitable for earthenware in Georgia, for on 16 January 1735, a Savannah gardener and one of Georgia's original constables, Joseph Fitzwalter, wrote Oglethorpe telling him of improvements in the garden and the conditions in the colony. Included in his lengthy missive was the notation that in Georgia there were "clays of Different Kinds both for the Moulder and potter, [mines] of different Species."<sup>44</sup> Commissary Philip Georg */sic/* Friedrich Von Reck expanded on this theme in his journal of his expeditions in Georgia as the leader of the first transport of Salzburger Emigrants a few months later: "The Earth is of several sorts, some sandy, some black, fat and heavy, and some of a claiye nature. The first is good for Potatoes and Pease; the second for all sorts of Corn; and the third for to make Bricks, Earthenware, &c."<sup>45</sup> Also, on 8 March 1736, John Andreas Dober, a Moravian potter, and two other Moravians journeyed five miles up the Savannah River with John Wesley, the famed Methodist, to choose a suitable location for a schoolhouse and also to "find some clay suitable for pottery." Someone among Dober's group, or Dober himself, was in contact with Oglethorpe in 1736 and told him that they were unsuccessful.<sup>46</sup> It is not surprising, then, that Oglethorpe

promis'd [Duche] all Assistance in his power, with money to enable him to carry on his Manufactory; and Land in whatever Part of Georgia he thought proper, And agreed immediately to furnish him with Solo bills, and cash for two hundred Pounds; Which on Duche's representation, that he could not do with less than two hundred and thirty Pounds; Mr. Oglethorpe Order'd Mr. Causton to let him have two hundred and thirty Pounds and a Lot in Savannah, and order'd Duche to set about his Building, and Manufactory with the utmost Expedition . . . the said sum was paid in Provi-



sions, or Goods, and only four Pounds of it in Cash; and . . . not withstanding this, he compleated his Pot works in the year 1738.<sup>47</sup>

The number and location of the town lot to which Duche referred in his memorial is not known, nor did Duche state when he was granted the lot on which he was to build his pot works. The only lot that was recorded as being granted to him was lot 71, which he received in 1740 after its previous tenant, Francis Lynch, had left Georgia.<sup>48</sup> In the 1760s, William McHenry petitioned Georgia's provincial government for Duche's town lot, referring to it as lot 1, Tower Tything, Deckar Ward.<sup>49</sup> The tything and ward system for Savannah's plan was developed in 1733, but in early records, wards and tythings were not mentioned, as it was easier to refer to the lots by their original consecutive number assignments. In the period between 1741-2, the numbering system was changed, and each tything in a ward for both city and farm lots (fig. 11) was assigned lot numbers 1 through 10.



Figure 11. Detail of A Map of the County of Savannah (see fig. 20), engraved by Tobias Lotter. The plan of Savannah is inverted to show (A) town lots, (B) garden lots, and (C) farm lots. MRF S-13.213, acc. 3566.



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Mrs. Howard J. Morrison of Savannah suggested that city lot 71 and city lot 1 Tower Tything, Decker Ward were one in the same. In an attempt to discover if this was so, a conjectural town plan of Savannah was constructed matching original trustee lot assignment numbers with those used after 1740. The result was fig. 12, which shows the location of Savannah lot 6, Savannah lot 71, and Savannah lot 65, which Duche leased from William Gough by performing Gough's guard duty, as lot 6 Wilmington Tything, Darby Ward; lot 1 Tower Tything, Decker Ward; and lot 5 Heathcote Tything, Decker Ward, respectively.<sup>50</sup> Based on the findings of the town plan, Duche's properties can now be located on contemporary views (fig. 13). It seems likely that Tything Decker Ward lot 1, or Savannah lot 71, was the lot mentioned in Duche's memorial. It probably took until 1740 for the grant to be recorded, for the previous owner had run away. Lynch's disappearance possibly resulted in a longer waiting period for the official recording of the grant.

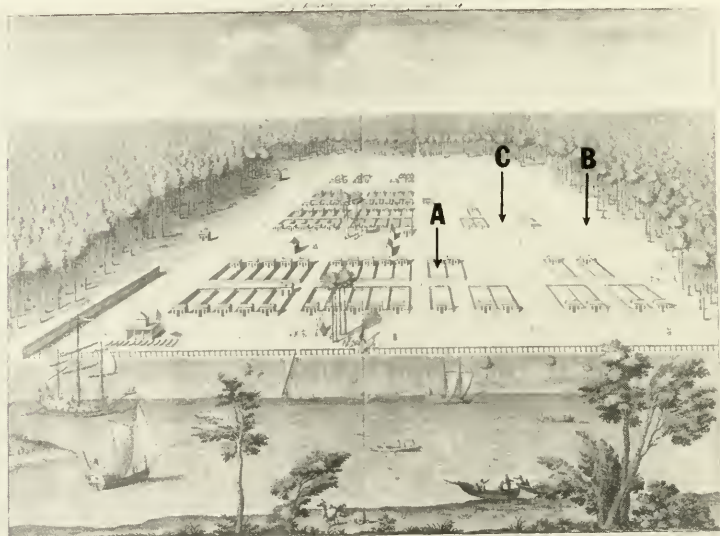


Figure 13. A View of Savannah as it Stood the 29th of March 1734, by Peter Gordon, engraved by P. Fourdinier, London? 1734. 23" X 18 1/4". Duche's granted and rented properties are shown in this view: (A) Lot 6 (rented), (B) Lot 71 (granted), (C) Lot 65 (rented). The land in the foreground is Hutchinson's Island. MRF5-5850, acc. 2024-28.



So, funds were allotted for Duche's pothouse construction, although he claimed he received only a small amount in cash. The allotment, £233.16.11, was noted in the Georgia trustees' general accounts for establishing the colony of Georgia.<sup>51</sup> Duche's claim in his memorial that he received the funds in provisions and only £4 in cash may have been accurate. Causton was responsible for the financial arrangements. As storekeeper, he distributed food and supplies to the settlers of Savannah. When the budget he and Oglethorpe had set up in 1736 failed, he overextended credit allowances to the settlers. In 1737, there was a Georgia crop failure and the trustees' appropriation of funds for the settlers was exhausted after Oglethorpe's expenditures on defense against the threat of Spanish attack. Therefore, when Oglethorpe ordered Causton to give Duche £230, Causton probably gave Duche credit at the Savannah store.<sup>52</sup>

Duche was producing pottery before 24 May 1738, for on that date, John Martin Bolzcius of the Salzburger emigrants made a notation in the daily records he and his assistant Gronau kept: "Rauner's son [Matthias], who had been placed in apprenticeship in Savannah, has run away from there and travelled to Puryburg with a little boat which he had taken, and thence came back to us as soon as an opportunity offered itself. The boy complained much about his master's treatment of him, in that he had to work hard, even on Sundays, did not receive enough to eat, etc. I do not know at this point whether the man in [Savannah] will have him back, and what should be done with this naughty child of an equally frivolous mother." In a later, 3 May 1741 entry, Bolzcius revealed that the man in Savannah to whom Matthias Rauner had been apprenticed was Duche.<sup>53</sup>

The Salzburger emigrants were a group of protestants, adhering to Lutheran doctrines, who had been expelled from Salzburg in 1731. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), a London missionary society, learned of these exiles' plight and brought it to the attention of the Georgia trustees. Financed by the trustees, they traveled from Rotterdam to Georgia, arriving in Savannah on 12 March 1734, settling in Old Ebenezer around the end of March 1734, and moving to New Ebenezer, twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah, by June 1738. Bolzcius was the pastor of these emigrants and Isaac Gronau was his assistant and catechist. The two men kept detailed accounts of the lives of the emigrants.<sup>54</sup>

A few days after Bolzcius's note that Rauner had run away, in a letter to Georgia's trustees dated 27 May 1738, William Stephens gave

the following account of Duche, his pothouse, and its wares:

It is with pleasure I can acquaint you, that the Encouragement given to a Potter for carrying on that manufacture, I humbly conceive was not ill-bestowd . . . the building [is] a convenient dwelling house, with a large Kiln in a room annexed, together with two rooms, one for a Workhouse, & the other for a Store room; all in one compact Building . . . the Master of it is a sober, diligent, & Modest man: he has baked off 2 Kilns of handsome Ware, of various kinds of Pots, Pans, Bowls, Cups, & Jugs, fit for many uses and tho 'twas a large quantity; they are found so convenient, yt. he does not want his customers to take them off his hands, at a reasonable price; This however he seems to set no value on, in comparison of what may be expected: his next aim is to do something very curious, wch. may turn to good account for transporting; & he is making some tryal of other fine clay; a small Teacup of which he shewd me, when held against the Light, was very near transparent: indeed, from what I have seen in the progress of that work, I must conclude it cannot fail of proving a Manufacture that will find good value abroad; or I am very much deceiv'd.<sup>55</sup>

This description in the first indication that Duche's aspirations included producing porcelain of high value for export, another in a long line of western attempts to imitate Chinese porcelain. When small amounts of Chinese porcelain first reached Europe in the Middle Ages, the desire for this fine ware developed into a need to understand how it was made so that it could become more accessible. In 1575 an Italian attempt to produce porcelain was the first recorded in Europe; however, it was not until 1708-9 that the first true porcelain was made in Europe at the Dresden factory.<sup>56</sup>

The secret of porcelain manufacture may not have become public knowledge until the 1735 Paris publication of *Description géographique, historique, etc. de l'empire de la Chine* . . . by Jean Baptiste DuHalde. In 1736 DuHalde's work was published in London as four volumes entitled *The General History of China* . . . , and it was available in Charleston at least by 1744.<sup>57</sup> In the first volume, DuHalde discussed porcelain production: "The Matter of Porcelain consists of two sorts of Earth, one called Pe tun tse, and the other Kau lin."<sup>58</sup> Petuntse is a fusible feldspathic ingredient (china-stone); both ingredients fuse at 1300-1400 degrees celsius.

Kaolin actually was the essential ingredient in porcelain manufacture, and it had not been discovered in England or the colonies by the late 1730s. Later, in 1744, kaolin was discussed in London as “an earth, the produce of the Cherokee nation in America, called by the natives unaker” in the famous Edward Heylyn and Thomas Frye patent, which precipitated the establishment of the well-known Bow factory.<sup>59</sup>

Kaolin has heretofore been thought of as being from the mountains of the Carolinas or Virginia; however, another source was the New Windsor, South Carolina, area. On 14 March 1756, Alexander Garden, the Charleston physician and botanist who was also interested in geology, sent Henry Baker, one of the founding members of the London Royal Society of Arts, “a small Bit of Clay which makes the 3d strata of our earth here.”<sup>60</sup> On 10 May 1759, he wrote Baker again: “I have procured some more of the different layers of Savannah bluff for you this is part of a vein that runs from N. E. to So. West about 100 miles from the sea across this & the Province of Georgia — I send by this vessel some small specimens in a Box put on Board of Capt. Rains Vessel for London — If you would chuse any more I can procure what quantity you please.”<sup>61</sup> The following day, 11 May 1759, Garden wrote John Ellis, an English merchant, naturalist, and another member of the Royal Society of Arts, that he had “sent [Baker] a box containing specimens of the eleven different strata of Savannah bluff. This vein runs across this and the Province of Georgia; but its depth and beauty are only seen here, where the river runs through it. Pray beg him to shew some of it to those people who make your English China. There is one stratum that is as white as alabaster, and not the least grittiness in it.” On 17 May 1759, in another letter to Ellis, Garden elaborated more on the strata, giving its location as New Windsor or Savannah Bluff (see fig. 1).<sup>62</sup> A 1904 geological survey implies that Garden’s white strata was kaolin, and in the New Windsor area, now located in the counties of Aiken and Edgefield, kaolin can easily be seen today.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, there is a possibility that the fine clay to which Stephens referred in conjunction with Duche’s experiments was kaolin. After all, Duche had spent at least a year, if not three, in the New Windsor area, and he probably, either purposely or inadvertently, collected kaolin while he was there.

Upon receipt of Stephens’s 27 May 1738 report, Egmont paraphrased the account of Duche’s work in a manner similar to that of Stephens; however, Egmont identified Duche as the master of the pot house.<sup>64</sup> Stephens’s report must have intrigued Egmont

and his wife, for Stephens wrote in 1741 of “divers particulars . . . I had formerly received from Mr. Verelst, by direction of the Countess of Egmont . . . I found them in Mr. Verelst’s letter of the 4th August 1738.”<sup>65</sup> Apparently Harman Verelst, the trustees’ accountant, under the direction of the Countess of Egmont, sent Stephens instructions for Duche to make some pots and cups. According to R. P. Hommel, the Earl of Egmont did more than send instructions — he actually forwarded samples of Chinese porcelain to Duche to use as models and patterns. This may be so. Egmont sent some sort of object, for William Stephens noted in a journal entry of 29 December 1738 that he had received Egmont’s commands to put Duche “upon the Trial of making some earthen Vessels of a fine Kind, agreeable to the model and pattern which his Lordship had sent.”<sup>66</sup>

On 7 October 1738, Christopher and William Shantz, two indentured servants ages 21 and 18 respectively, arrived in Savannah and were delivered to Duche who was charged with the repayment of the servants’ travel expenses. The two brothers had left central Europe (Palatine) the preceding July, and the fact that the trustees assigned the Shantzes to Duche was evidence that England was willing to promote Duche’s endeavors. A search through available records failed to reveal any further information on the Shantzes, although a 1 June 1743 list of the inhabitants of Savannah mentioned that the Duches had one servant living in their household at that time.<sup>67</sup> This servant need not have been either Shantz, however, for before 1743, Andrew and Mary Grenier, both of whom were Duche’s servants, were living in Savannah. Andrew Grenier eventually moved to Purrysburgh and called himself a pottter.

Stephens was not the only Georgian to write the trustees of Duche’s pottery works; on 19 October 1738 General Oglethorpe wrote the trustees a brief description of Georgia’s possibilities toward prosperity had not internal difficulties held them back. Included in the possibilities was “earth found here that a potter has baked into china ware.” Egmont later duly summarized Oglethorpe’s letter: “10. That earth is found which Duche the Potter has baked into China ware.”<sup>68</sup>

At the end of 1738 and the beginning of 1739, Duche began to involve himself in local politics, establishing himself as a malcontent. He signed a 9 December 1738 letter of complaint to the trustees, along with 120 other men, asking that they be allowed title to their lands and that slavery be permitted in the colony.<sup>69</sup> Duche’s interest in political affairs had a negative effect on the application of his

trade. On 29 December 1738, Stephens devoted a journal entry to Duche:

After often talking with Duche the Potter, about the great Improvements which he had proposed in the Manufacture; which he had hitherto carried on in a plain way with good Success . . . I was the more urgent with him now . . . especially as I had received Lord Egmonts Commands to put him upon the Trial of making some earthen Vessels of a fine Kind, agreeable to the model and pattern which his lordship had sent; whereat I found him boggle very much; and seeing me very importunate thereon, he brought me a Paper of his own Writing, setting forth very many Things requisite to enable him to carry on such a Piece of Work; and another Advancement of Money at the Bottom of it; at the same time very scrupulous of sending any Clay to the Trust with which he was to work it; alledging, that it was a peculiar Nostrum of his own, which he would hope for a Patent to appropriate to himself, than divulge.<sup>70</sup>

Duche was evading Stephens's direct requests and stalling for time, perhaps because his later experiments had been unsuccessful, hence the word boggle in Stephens's journal entry. Egmont also used the term in his synopsis of a letter sent by Stephens in March 1739.<sup>71</sup> Duche's delay tactics did little to promote his work. On 2 January 1739, Stephens wrote Verelst:

I am really puzzled what to say of Duch's our Potter here . . . I see no cause to retract any part of the Character I thought he deserved, as to his diligence, Sobriety & Skill so far as his work hitherto has appeard, whereof he had made good plenty, which has not stuck on his hands, but how far he is capable of bringing those things to perfection as promised, I dare not undertake for . . . I am ashamed for him, that my fond Credulity which led me into an imagination, of seeing such fine things brought presently to perfection should be the cause of my Good Lord Egmonts being deceiv'd. . . . Time possibly may yet bring these things to pass.<sup>72</sup>

At about the time that Duche's demands and prevarications were causing a stir in England, Duche himself was traveling the country and settlements surrounding Savannah, apparently looking for clay and selling his wares. On 7 February 1739, Bolzius noted in the Salzburger diary that:



The potter from Savannah has been looking for lime and clay in our vicinity for his trade, but then he found a whole mound of stones of which he took as many as his boat would carry and transported them to Savannah. He hopes to fire lime from the white kind he found; and he promised to let me know best he could through our people whether it is possible or not. I do not think these stones are strong enough to withstand a hot fire, but they might well serve to line a cellar as well. This man could hardly find words enough to praise the opportunity that we have, in contrast to others in this colony, to fire bricks, and he has offered to show our people or those among them how to fire them without kilns. I have made similar suggestions on several occasions, but no one among our people wants to engage in this, although there are some among the men who have worked in bricksheds in Germany.<sup>73</sup>

A good bit of information can be gleaned from this particular record. It is the only reference to the source of Duche's clay or to his traveling in search of it. He was probably able to dig for earthenware clay in the Savannah area, perhaps in the area of Pipemaker's Creek (see fig. 20), which crossed the road to Ebenezer about four and one-half miles north of Savannah.<sup>74</sup> However, any sojourns for stoneware clay and kaolin must have taken him farther afield. Bolzius's notation suggests that Duche was not successful in his search in their vicinity. Bolzius states that Duche had a boat; he probably traveled along the Savannah River frequently, as well as up and down the Georgia coast (fig. 14), perhaps journeying as far as New Windsor in his quest for clay. An archaeological finding at Frederica (see fig. 1) on St. Simons Island has only lately produced tangible evidence that indicates the scope of Duche's sales in Georgia, as well as the range of his production, at about the time of Bolzius's February 1739 record. This discovery is very important, for it not only demonstrates Duche's versatility, but it also points to his being one of the earliest southern potters to produce stoneware, and the first south of Virginia.

St. Simons Island is located toward the southern end of an ecologically balanced system of barrier islands along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia known as the Sea Island chain or the Golden Isles. The national park site of Frederica, a village settled in 1736 as an Oglethorpe defense against the Spanish and abandoned in 1755, is now only a historical and archaeological site. It is located midway along the western, or Georgia, side of St. Simon's Island.



Figure 14. Untitled map signed "T. C. Lotter sculps Aug. Vind. del," 1741-43, published in Samuel Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, 13<sup>te</sup> Continuation, Erster Theil (Halle and Augsburg, 1747). 9 5/8" X 8 5/8". MRF S-6538, acc. 2867.

Two years after Frederica was founded, a six-hundred-man military regiment and forty domestic families constituted the population of its eighty-four house lots and fort facing the Frederica River.<sup>75</sup>

The village was originally planned by Georgia's trustees to be self-supporting agriculturally; however, its economy, based on the high percentage of soldiers and low percentage of farmers, shifted toward providing for the military contingent. By 1740, Frederica was firmly established as a military town. Any civilian residents supported themselves by answering the needs of the soldiers and were dependent on Savannah and other close coastal villages for any farming supplies. Therefore, it is not surprising that the most common occupation for a Frederica resident not in the military was in a public house.<sup>76</sup>

Thomas Hird, his wife, their two sons and two daughters were one of the families engaged in that occupation. Hird, initially a dyer, arrived in Frederica in February 1736, and by 1 February 1739 he was a constable. Lot 12, North Ward, was assigned him as a residence, and some time during his first years there, the Trustees provided him with financing to "set up a Brewhouse." Georgia records indicate that Hird not only occupied himself with his brewhouse, but he was also one of Frederica's few successful farmers and an active participant in Frederica's political affairs, traveling frequently to Savannah to meet with William Stephens. Hird died in late 1747 or early 1748, and his family left Frederica shortly after his death. Hird's lot was not mentioned in any Georgia records after he died, but it can be assumed that it was abandoned, for by 1755 Frederica had deteriorated into a ghost town, with most of its lots and houses empty.<sup>77</sup>

In 1974 Hird's lot was excavated under the direction of Nicholas Honerkamp of the University of Florida anthropology department. Among the artifacts recovered — now the property of the National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center in Tallahassee—were English kaolin pipestems that date about 1741 or 1742 and ceramics that probably were made between 1738-9.<sup>78</sup> Among the earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain recovered, which reflected the Hirds' upper class existence, a ceramic group emerged that could not be classified as imported.<sup>79</sup>

In comparison with the imports, this stoneware had a higher sherd count, which reflects common use not confined to the Hird lot. The stoneware was found at other excavated lots at Frederica but with lesser sherd counts. Honerkamp recognized qualities that indicated production in the colonies. He correctly suggested that





*Figure 15. Salt-glazed stoneware mug fragment, attributed to Andrew Duche, Savannah, 1736-43. HOA 6 1/4", WOA 4 1/4". This mug was excavated at the Thomas Hird Lot, No. 12 North Ward, Frederica/St. Simon's Island, Georgia. Collection of National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida, SEAC Acquisition 199. MRF S-15,282.*

Andrew Duche was the most likely candidate for its creation based on the dates of the lot, Duche's working dates, the proximity of Savannah to Frederica, and the physical characteristics of the stoneware.<sup>80</sup>

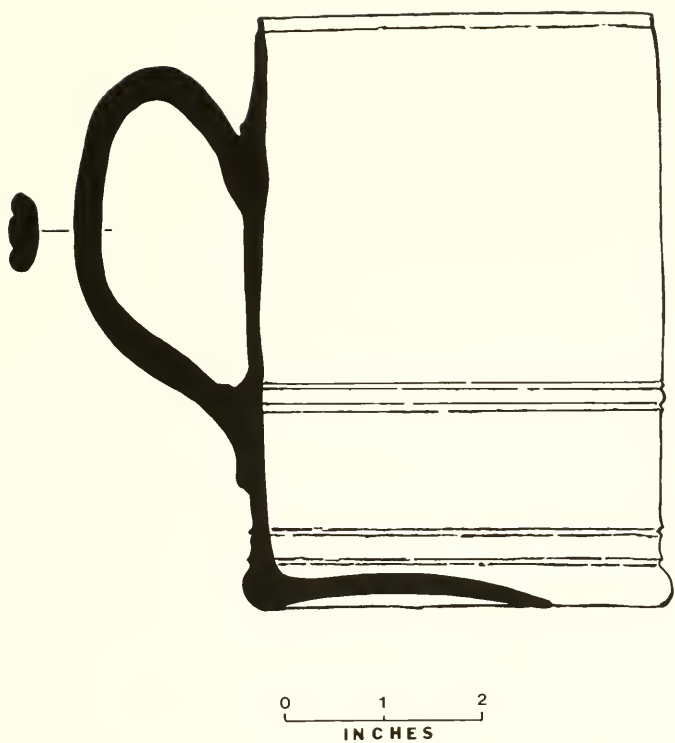
The 421 stoneware sherds, all from utilitarian vessels, are salt-glazed with exterior colors ranging from gray-green to brown-green. The interiors have a thinner glaze than the exteriors and are gray to brown without the green. Their dark gray bodies are the



*Figure 15a. Detail of Figure 15 showing the base of the mug.*

result of a high iron content and demonstrate vitrification at a high temperature. An indication that these sherds were not imported is their kiln scarring — evidence that the vessels had adhered to one another as well as to kiln furniture. Kiln-scarred items would not have been exported from Europe.

The sherds represent three vessel forms: mugs, jars, and bowls. Of the three, the mugs occur almost wholly. They were wheel thrown, as were the other forms, and finished with a rib, which produced moldings at the base, rim, and side. The handles appear to have been extruded with a cross-section profile not unlike the handles from Anthony Duche's Philadelphia kiln. Also comparable are the measurements of the Frederica mug illustrated in figs. 15, 15a, and 16 — 6 1/4 inches high and 4 1/4 wide — and those of a Philadelphia example. As a rule, most Staffordshire salt-glazed stoneware mugs of this type are not as wide; the squatness is more common to mugs of the Westerwald region.<sup>81</sup>



*Figure 16. Conjectural drawing of salt-glazed stoneware mug based on the mug fragments excavated at Frederica. Line drawing courtesy of Michael Hartley. MRF S-15,297.*

A bowl rim (fig. 17) with a large external kiln scar, a projected diameter of seven inches and, unfortunately, an indeterminable height (fig. 18), was also among the sherds recovered at the Frederica site. The angled wall of the bowl was rib-finished with an externally medial-placed astragal molding also found on the mugs. An attempt was made to match one of the few non-mug base sherds to the bowl, but it could not be done with any certainty, for the bowl wall sherds were not present. The bowl rim sherd reflects the exposure of the entire surface, for the green color of the heavy salt-glazing is equal on both sides. Therefore, a correct base match would have the green color, whereas a mug or jar base sherd would be missing the green. A bowl base sherd was not found. To date, no Anthony Duche bowl forms have been excavated in Philadelphia, so these sherds could not be compared with his work.<sup>82</sup>



*Figure 17. Salt-glazed stoneware bowl fragment, attributed to Andrew Duche, Savannah, 1736-43. HOA 3 1/4", WOA 4 3/8". This fragment was also excavated from the Hird Lot at Frederica. Collection of National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida, MRF S-15,283.*

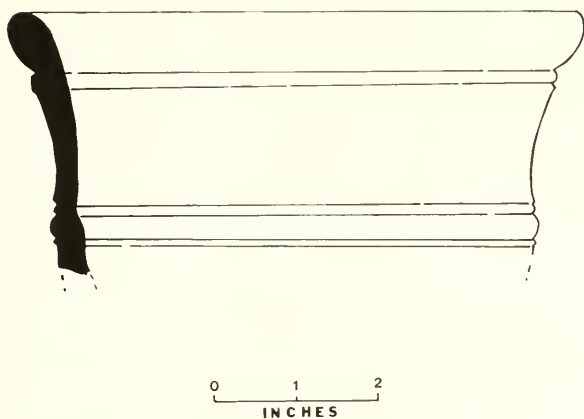


Figure 18. Conjectural drawing of stoneware bowl rim based on the fragments excavated at Frederica. Line drawing courtesy of Michael Hartley. MRF S-15,298.

The shape of the jars represented by excavated sherds are ambiguous, for several base sherds exist, but only one shoulder-to-neck sherd was found. The latter is shapeless and could not be used to determine the design of the mouth. What could be extrapolated (fig. 19) are a base diameter of three inches and a shoulder ribbed decoration diameter of five inches. The base of the vessel was ribbed like the mug's. The wall profile of the base sherd suggests a bulbous vessel stylistically in keeping with its time period.

While the discovery of the Frederica sherds probably does not give the entire range of Andrew Duche's stoneware production, it does demonstrate possible evidence for Duche's working with a salt-glazed stoneware kiln as well as a lead-glazed earthenware kiln. When relating Duche's attributed stoneware to his lead-glazed earthenware, the question of style rather than origin is more likely to be raised. In the final analysis, it could be that Duche made the earthenware jar in Charleston and the stoneware in Savannah. The handle style of the lead-glazed jar, which does not occur on the sherds from the Hird lot, seems to have been reserved for coarse utilitarian storage vessels, which would then not have been sent to Frederica, for those sherds demonstrate the production of well-made stoneware. It is highly unlikely that these ceramics are not of his production. Inquiries with archaeologists have revealed that the

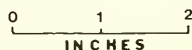
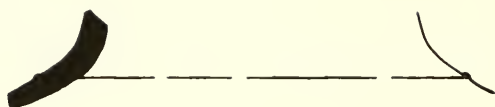


Figure 19. Conjectural drawing of jar based on fragments excavated at Frederica. Line drawing courtesy of Michael Hartley. MRF S-15,299.



types of sherds excavated at Frederica have not been found anywhere except Frederica. There is no possibility of there having been a pottery at Frederica, for if there were, it would have been noted in Georgia records.

While Duche was traveling with his wares to New Ebenezer (see fig. 1), his porcelain proposal, mentioned the previous December by Stephens, arrived in England. On 16 March 1739, Egmont wrote:

he [Duche] had found out the true manner of making porcelain or China ware, but needed money (over & above the encouragement formerly given him) to build conveniences and lay in a stock to enable him to make large quantities of it for exportation, which would turn to the Credit and advantage of the Colony, & employ at least 100 poor people in the Town, & many more, if we should procure him a patent for the sole making of it in this Colony, & exclusive of all others in any part of his Majesties Dominions that are or may be annex'd to the Crown of Great Britain for the space of 15 years, wch. he hopes will not be refused, as he is the first Man in Europe, Africa or America, that ever found the true material and manner of making porcelain or China ware. He also desired 2 ingenious pot painters at certain reasonable wages to be engaged for 4 years, & he would oblige himself to pay them their wages quarterly. But as to sending over any clays to the Trustees, he desired to be excused. He further desired the Trustees would send him a Tun weight of Pig lead, 200 weight of blew smalt such as potters use, 300 weight of block Tin, and an Iron mortar & pestle to weigh together about 200 pd . . . In answer to my Commission to send me over China Cups, he said they would have been ready to send by this opportunity, had he been able to build a kiln for that purpose, but till then they cannot be made. And as to the garden pots, he chose not to make them, if expected of the same matter with the cups.<sup>83</sup>

On 27 June 1739, the trustees considered Duche's proposal and resolved to purchase him a mortar and pestle, lead, smalt, and block tin for no more than £12, adding that in return Duche was to send them samples of his porcelain, for they would not consider giving him a patent without proof of his work.<sup>84</sup> Harman Verelst, the trustees' accountant, went into more detail in a letter dated 14 July 1739:

Your proposal of the 29th of December last having been read to the Trustees they have been pleased to send you an Iron Pestle and Mortar in a Cask, 40 pounds wt. of fine deep Smalt in a Box, 60 pound wt. of fine Tin Ingots in a Box; and 7 1/2 lb wt. of Lead in 44 Barrs to encourage you in the making Porcelain or China Ware and by Showing this letter to William Stephens Esq you will be intitled to receive them. . . . As to the other part of your proposal you are desired to send over Specimens of all you make, and some of the finest Clay baked and unbaked before the Trustees can consider thereof, for without Proofs of your work the Trustees cannot apply to serve you in any manner whatsoever.<sup>85</sup>

Apparently, the trustees decided not to send Duche his two ingenious pot painters as neither Duche nor the trustees mentioned them again. Smalt was a product manufactured from cobalt and used for decorating stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, and porcelain. When used in a fine powdered form, it was called powder blue. It was not produced in England until 1764, and the importation of the pigment from Saxony was costly, and the taxes on it were high.<sup>86</sup> The reduction of Duche's original request to the amount the trustees sent him was probably a reflection of these expenses. The lower amount might also have been related to the trustees' desire to see a finished product before investing a large sum of money. The amounts of tin and lead sent to Duche were also lower than those of Duche's original order. The iron mortar and pestle were not questioned, as they were an essential part of a potter's equipment.

The trustees reduced the amounts Duche asked for in his proposal, but they did not quibble over the items themselves. This is a little odd. A layman with a smattering of knowledge about porcelain production would not ordinarily associate tin and lead with anything but lead-glazed and tin-glazed earthenware (delft) even though several references in ceramics literature indicate that the two ingredients were indeed used for such production in some cases. For example, from 1725 to about 1750, the French soft-paste porcelain factory of Chantilly in Oise, under the management of Ciquaire Cirou, produced a porcelain distinguishable by its glaze which was made opaque and white with tin oxide (tin ashes). The late ceramic historian William B. Honey described the effect of the glaze as a "beautiful milky whiteness and smoothness . . . absolutely distinct and without parallel in the history of porcelain."<sup>87</sup> It is

possible that Duche was aware of the uses of tin and lead as elements of porcelain and porcelain glaze production, and he might have been planning to make porcelain that resembled that of the Chantilly, Bristol, or Tucker manufactories. Duche's request for lead and tin, however, does not necessarily demonstrate that he had a sophisticated knowledge of porcelain production. In fact, the request can also be construed as an example of Duche's only basic knowledge of ceramic production beyond earthen- and stoneware. It is also possible that Duche hoped to produce a domestic lead or tin-glazed earthenware.

A few months before the trustees' decisions regarding his porcelain proposals, Duche had committed himself to another project. On 12 April 1739 Stephens noted that General Oglethorpe agreed to the building of a wharf with a store house and proper conveniences at the Savannah high water mark. Duche was then chosen to undertake the project for £50 sterling. Two months later, the wharf was underway, but according to Stephens, Duche had already begun to procrastinate, "finding many Difficulties in fixing a certain Foundation in the loose Sand, without Piles; and often altering his Purpose."<sup>88</sup> Stephens did not say whether Duche ever finished the wharf, but his comment is an indication that he was beginning to believe Duche incapable of carrying a project much beyond its inception.

Although Stephens's patience with Duche was beginning to wear thin, Oglethorpe still retained his good opinion of the potter. In December 1739, from Frederica, Georgia, he wrote the trustees that "Andrew Duche is the Potter at Savannah who goes on very well there, is one of the most Industrious in the Town & has made several Experiments which seem to look like the making of China, he had two servants whom he breeds to the Potter's Trade."<sup>89</sup> As it had been Oglethorpe who promoted Duche's plans for pottery manufacture in Savannah, he may have written his glowing report to the trustees to save himself some embarrassment. Also, as he was not in Savannah often, and thus probably dealt very little with Duche, he may not have had firsthand knowledge of Duche's wares, evasions, and failures.

The Salzburger emigrants, on the other hand, did have firsthand knowledge of Duche's wares and in February 1740 had this to report: "It is colder here than in England, so one cannot live here well without stoves; and it would be desirable if the new colonists should bring with them iron stoves like those cast in Germany.

They are highly regarded here, and we would be happy to get them. The earthenware that is made by [Duche] in Savannah is not durable and not very usable; and for this both the clay and his firing and glazing is responsible.”<sup>90</sup> In his comments, Bolzcius was connecting the cold weather, tile stoves, and Duche’s earthenware. He was not criticizing Duche’s earthenware as a whole: he was merely stating that it was not suitable for making the tile stoves he felt were necessary for keeping warm in New Ebenezer.<sup>91</sup>

At some point before 13 March 1740, when Stephens wrote another letter to Egmont, Oglethorpe granted Duche “another lot adjacent to his own” in Savannah, and on it Duche built two houses with the “intention to make finer ware than before.”<sup>92</sup> There is a possibility that this was the lot 71 granted Duche in 1740 after its previous tenant, Francis Lynch, had run away. The description of the lot confuses the issue, for the oblique reference makes it unclear whether the lot was adjacent to another of Duche’s or to Oglethorpe’s. There are no records of Oglethorpe’s owning any lots next to 71, nor did it appear that Duche owned any lots next to each other. By 25 June 1740, Duche had acquired tenancy of another lot, 65. Its previous owner, William Gough, left Savannah to teach in Port Royal, South Carolina. In lieu of rent on the lot, Duche performed guard duty; however, he also found a “Quarry of Iron Stone” on the property and sold it the people of Savannah for such purposes as building chimneys. Duche charged two shillings per load for the stone, and one can imagine his chagrin when Samuel Mercer, a keeper of a public house, having found the same on his lot, charged only sixpence per load, thus negotiating the contract with Stephens for public works which Duche had been hoping to get.<sup>93</sup>

This disappointment, the fact that Samuel Mercer and William Stephens were close associates, and the fact that before 1 August 1740, he held the position of foreman of a Savannah jury, may have spurred Duche on to further disruptive political activities. He was certainly busy as both jury foreman and Savannah constable. In a letter to Lord Carpenter, one of the Georgia trustees, Henry Garrett, a chemist who served as an accountant in Savannah, wrote that in his trial against Minis and Solomon, Duche was his only supporter. On 1 August 1740, Duche was fined 20 shillings for not attending court, one of his duties as constable.<sup>94</sup>

Fearing a Spanish attack, on 31 August 1740, Duche’s wife, Mary, and several other wives of Savannah citizens left Georgia in a boat for New York via Carolina. They left in the wake of Andrew Grant,

Patrick Tailfer, and other members of the St. Andrew's Club, a group of men, mainly Scots, who met at local taverns and complained bitterly about conditions in Georgia and the trustees. They had written the trustees on 10 August 1740: "General Oglethorpe with all his forces has been obliged to raise the siege of St. Augustine, and we have reason to believe the impending ruin of this colony will be thereby determined. For the Spaniards are reinforced, the General's army harassed and weakened and the Indians provoked and discontented so that everything looks with the most dismal aspect."<sup>95</sup>

The St. Andrew's Club was the force behind the 1738 malcontent petition to the Georgia trustees. Upon receiving word from the trustees in a reply to their 1738 letter of complaint that the trustees would not establish slavery or fee-simple tenures, they decided to remove as many settlers from Savannah as they could using threats of Indian and Spanish attack. The absence of settlers from Savannah would hurt the trustees, for they would have no one to look after the different trades and manufactures. For example, when Patrick Tailfer, one of the club's leaders left for Charleston that August, he "assured ye People (from his private Intelligence; wch. he often boasted of,) That the Indians would by the 8th of September be at Savannah and destroy the Town with its Inhabitants; He had left the managemt. of his Affairs here to Mr. Andrew Duche, constituting him his Attorney: who together wth. his Friend Mr. Fallowfield have wth. unwearied Application pursued, & improved their patron's Schemes for distressing this Colony." This information was in a 6 October letter written by Thomas Jones, the Savannah storekeeper who replaced Thomas Causton after he was relieved of his duties, to Harman Verelst. Jones complained of other problems in the same letter. He could not secure debts due the Trustees from those leaving the colony, and Fallowfield and Duche were adding to his troubles by claiming that neither he nor Stephens had the authority to collect debts in the first place.<sup>96</sup>

Duche unabashedly continued his association with those opposed to the policies of the Georgia trustees. On 10 November 1740, Stephens submitted a report to the trustees on the conditions of Georgia, which had been requested by the trustees earlier in the year, to a special court session. In the report, Stephens began with a favorable outline of Duche's endeavors: "a pottery work is carried on with success, where common ware for most uses is made in good plenty, and exported to the neighboring provinces; and the master, who is of an enterprising genius, has undertaken, to make a superfine sort, of such as shall not be inferior to porcelain itself;



but a little time will discover his further performances.” Duche was not grateful for this report. At the session, a group of men he headed with Andrew Grant expressed their dissatisfaction with the report and refused to sign it, Duche going as far as to say that what Stephens had read “contained more oil than corn.” This led to Stephens’s scornful description of Duche in his journal:

The next, and only one to be added to those before named, for being active in stirring up Discontents at present, is Andrew Duche the Potter, who if he would stick to his own Business, we are willing to allow is a master of that Trade . . . and when we may expect his Performance of what he has so long undertaken, to make Porcelane Ware is not yet to be known; tho’ he talks of it with the same Assurance as ever; and I am very willing to hope, that some Time or other, this great Rarity will shew itself; but the meanwhile tho’ very illiterate, he has an artful Knack of Talking, and by a Glib Tongue deceiving, such as are not aware of his Designs, as well as a Heart set to do Mischief; his chief Employment of late being to seduce all he can prevail with.<sup>97</sup>

In a letter to Verelst dated 20 November 1740, Stephens defended his report, condemning Duche and Fallowfield as lacking good judgment and understanding and “continually scheming some new mischief or another.”<sup>98</sup> Later that month, Stephens’s antagonists produced their own description of the state of the colony which Stephens decided had been written by Duche, especially since it was available at Duche’s house for those interested to sign. On 27 November 1740, Stephens wrote the trustees of this description which also included a list demanding ownership of slaves, “the disposal of Lands, without any Limitation . . . when & to whom they think fit,” yearly elections for magistrates, constables, and taxmen, and lower quit rents. Stephens also made note of Duche’s individual contributions to these demands and complaints, and he was warned by friends on 29 November that certain Savannah residents, incited by Duche’s actions and those of his associates, might wish to harm him.<sup>99</sup>

In the last month of 1740, Duche’s role as leader of the malcontents apparently increased his boastfulness and self-confidence. Stephens deemed him “a little too much addicted to Politicks (as I thought) and insinuating the Necessity (he thought) there was, of divers Alterations to be made in Establishment of this Colony, be-



fore it could thrive . . . he has acted furiously, with all the Bitterness and Rage, that a man possessed with an evil Spirit may be supposed capable of; having in all Appearance, no Regard to any Person or Thing that he thinks stands in his Way.”<sup>100</sup> In a meeting at a tavern on 7 December 1740, a day after this condemnation, Duche’s cockiness led him to make outrageous statements against Stephens announcing that Stephens’s position in Georgia was no more important than that of head constable. This bald declaration succeeded in alienating some of the more faint-hearted of his associates. A few weeks later, in a 24 December 1740 letter, John Pye and John Fallowfield described how Duche, as constable and “next in power to the Magistrates,” demanded of Stephens that the Seal of Savannah Township be affixed to their complaints and demands of the trustees. They complained that Stephens told Duche they could not have the Seal unless they signed his report on the state of the province.<sup>101</sup> In the first days of January 1741, Duche held a public assembly at his house regarding the drawing up of a new representation of the state of affairs in Georgia. He also called on Stephens and resigned from his position as constable of Savannah, after an argument in which Stephens told him “to mind his own Affair of making Pots, rather than kick against those from whom he had received such great Encouragement.”<sup>102</sup>

Duche returned to making pottery in the late spring of 1741, and in early May he began trying his hand at making porcelain again. Stephens noted in his journal on 28 May:

It began to be currently reported about Town, that Mr. Duche, the Potter, had now accomplish’d his Intention of making China Ware; that he had baked several Cups and Basons, which were transparent, and was no longer in any Doubt of bringing it to Perfection (This everybody who wished well to the Colony to be sure must be pleased with) but still it was such a Secret, that he did not allow any to see it, except some few Confidants, whom for a While past he wholly consorted with, and assisted in carrying on sundry political Schemes: These began now to publish his Praise and great Abilities which I heartily wish may appear more valuable in his manual Operations.<sup>103</sup>

This notation from Stephens’s journal emphasizes that the fact that the news of Duche’s accomplishment was only oral. Stephens stressed his feelings that he would have to see Duche’s experiments

himself before he believed that the porcelain had been perfected. Duche knew of Stephens's sentiments, for on 4 June 1741 Stephens wrote:

Mr. Duchee the Potter, who had for a long while past estranged himself from me, thought fit to make me a Visit, and waving all Politicks, wherein we could never agree, entered into some Talk with me about the Progress he had made in bringing his China Ware to Perfection. . . . and after acquainting me in some Part what he had to shew, he desired I would acquaint him with divers Particulars that I had formerly received from Verelst, by Direction from the Countess of Egmont, touching some Pots and Cups that might be acceptable. . . . and from what he said, I had Cause to believe he was in earnest now. I promised to take an Opportunity soon of seeing his Curiosities, and assured him, that no Difference in Opinion with him . . . should ever occasion my endeavoring to lessen his Merit with the Trustees relating to the Works he carried on and brought to Perfection, whereby the Benefit of the Colony, as well as its Reputation was to be advanced.<sup>104</sup>

Stephens then paid a visit to Duche's kiln, and on 17 June he continued his discourse:

I took Occasion to call on Mr. Duchee to see some of his Rarities . . . but it happened not to be at a right [time], for his Kiln was now burning . . . I understood all his fine ware was baking a second Time, as it ought to be, with proper Glazing: But he shewed me a little Piece in Form of a Tea-Cup, with its Bottom broke out, which he said he had passed through one Baking, and was yet rough; but upon holding it to the Light, as it was, without any Colouring on it, I thought it as transparent as our ordinary strong China Cups commonly are.<sup>105</sup>

Stephens's comments imply that Duche was using his regular kiln for his experiments. This is interesting, for in 1738 and 1740, Duche had claimed that he could not produce his porcelain without a special kiln and that was why he had not proceeded further. It also emphasizes the fact that Duche's renewed interest in his work was connected with the activities of the other malcontents, especially as his new-found diligence as a potter occurred after he held a meet-

ing at his house to draw up a new list of complaints. His reversion to his experiments, then, after virtually abandoning them for two years, was supposed to be a smokescreen for his other activities, possibly providing him with a viable excuse for going to London. Two days after Stephens's visit, he and his cronies, mainly William Ewen, John Pye, and John Fallowfield, bailiff of Savannah, met at Jacob Matthews's house with encouragement from a new member of their group, Richard Everard. Stephens did not know exactly what the meeting was about, but he guessed one of its purposes was condemning Thomas Jones.<sup>106</sup>

On 8 July 1741, Jones wrote Verelst that Duche and William Ewen, as attorneys for Patrick Tailfer and Edward Jenkins, continued to demand money of him in their clients' behalf. Jones asserted that there was a discrepancy in claims and dropped the matter. By 17 July, the "Enemies of Peace," as Stephens referred to them, had composed a new paper with contents that were yet a mystery. They then disbanded for a short period, many of the associates having business elsewhere. Duche traveled to Frederica for the purpose of visiting General Oglethorpe and laying complaints before him. Duche also claimed that he showed the general his experiments with porcelain. Upon his return, the group congregated. Stephens had his own account of the 22 July meeting:

it was given out that [Duche] was exceedingly caress'd by the General &c. which I could easily give credit to, on Account of his pottery, if what he carried with him answered the Expectations that had so long been raised of it; for he had lately drawn his Kiln of ware which was baking a second time, when I attempted lately to see it; and since it was drawn, nobody was allowed to have a Sight of it (except a choice Friend of his) before he had shewn some of it to his Excellence. . . . he desired to go soon for England, and carry with him Samples of what he had brought to Perfection, with ample, recommendatory Letters to many Persons of high Rank; which I likewise had no Cause to disbelieve hoping the Sight of what he had done, would deserve all Encouragement.<sup>107</sup>

At the meeting, the group drew up a petition asking the King to dismiss the trustees, which Duche planned also to take to England. Duche then applied for £50, to defray the cost of traveling to England, through Oglethorpe, who seemed to "be of Opinion, that he had come pretty near the Perfection proposed in his Work, but is not yet arrived at that Hardness required, wherefor some En-

couragement is due to him; but his also of Opinion that it would be better for him not to go to England, where he is apprehensive he might meet with Disappointments.”<sup>108</sup>

Stephens and Jones were not certain that Duche should be given the money and told him so. Duche went back to plead his cause with Oglethorpe at Frederica. When Duche returned from Frederica, he brought back a letter from Oglethorpe and requested the £50 again. An unsigned letter to Oglethorpe, dated 29 July 1741 and not written by Stephens who was out of town, explained why, once again, Duche’s request was denied: “it was not in our power to advance him the Loan of £50, out of that sum appropriated by ye. Trusts. for defraying the Incident Expences, having already disbursed near the whole of that Sum in providing for the Sevl. Branches included under that Article, such as Publick Buildings, Repairs, Light House &c.”<sup>109</sup> Thomas Jones then took it upon himself to acquaint Oglethorpe with his feelings on the matter in a letter dated 30 July, stating:

That Mr. duche hath frequently declared, That tho’ the Trusts: had advanced some money to him, to carry on his Potterywork, (wch: by the way exceeds the sum of Four Hundred Pounds Sterling, As by his Accot. . . .) Yet he did not reckon himself obliged to the Trust for the same, because it was not their money, but given them to lay out for the Encouragemt. of Setlers, and Improvements to be made in the Colony. . . . he hath endeavor’d to overturn all ordr. and Governmt. among us, amongst many other instances of his Attempts for that Purposse. . . . I might (had I time) give many other Instances of Mr. Duche’s Behaviour & Conversation, tending to disturb, if not subvert the peace and Tranquility of the Colony!<sup>110</sup>

The £400 was a cumulative amount granted to Duche beginning with the £230 he was granted about 1736. The additional money probably came from the budget for encouraging trades and improvements in Georgia, which in the fiscal year beginning 9 June 1738 and ending 9 June 1739 was £280.15.8 1/2.<sup>111</sup>

On 6 August 1741, Stephens warned Verelst of the “Samples of Madness [that seem] to reign here among us; to that Degree as might entitle us (I think) to be one of the Out Wards of Bedlam” that were either going to be sent or presented to the trustees in the near future; these included Duche’s petition. Duche, Stephens, and Jones continued arguing after Duche had returned once again from

Frederica on August 11, for although Oglethorpe wrote in a letter Duche brought back that he believed Duche should be given the £50, he did not order Stephens or Jones to produce the sum. Stephens decided to put the decision off a few days.<sup>112</sup>

In desperation, "resolving still to pursue his Intention for going to England, as soon as he could with Convenience get some part of his Ware ready to carry with him," on 17 August Duche sent for Jones and Stephens, asking that they be present "at his forming some of his Clay into useful Cups &c." Stephens wrote: "We did so, and sat by him, whilst he moulded two or three such, about the size of large Tea-Cups, which were shaped not amiss; neither had either of us any doubt of his being capable of that before; and they were white, as he also said, they would be transparent, when baked as they ought to be, in like Manner as he had shewn me one a while since, that appeared to be so, and was to go through another baking." However, Stephens expressed doubt that it deserved "the name of Porcelane . . . for its present Appearance differs very little (if any Thing) from some of our finest Earthen-Ware made in England." Stephens added that Duche said himself that "the Glazing, and Colouring, is a peculiar Work, to be done by other Hands, who are Artists in that way," and stood firm on his refusal to give Duche any more money.<sup>113</sup>

It is unfortunate that this intimate view of Duche at work did not continue. At least Stephens noted that the clay Duche used prior to the biscuit firing was white. This suggests that it was kaolin-based clay. Stephens also expressed his belief that Duche's attempts only resulted in earthenware and could not be called porcelain. Although it is possible that Stephens did not understand that what he thought was a porcelainous quality would probably not be visible until the firing was complete, it is most likely that his observations were correct, and Duche at best could only produce a lead-glazed faience.

On 27 August 1741, Stephens again emphasized his uncertainty about the £50 Duche demanded. Duche seemed confident in the belief that he would eventually get the money to go to England, for in another visit with the Salzburger emigrants on 26 August 1741, he told them that he was going to England and expressed his willingness to take their letters with him and help carry out any of their requests.<sup>114</sup> Finally, on 15 September 1741, Stephens refused flatly to give Duche any money, for he had yet to see "Fruits of his Works," advising Duche to wait until Oglethorpe ordered that the money be given to him. Stephens reiterated his opinion that "what he now



proposed to carry with him for that Purpose, could merit the Name of China-Ware.”<sup>115</sup>

The news of Duche’s planned journey to London reached the ears of others besides Oglethorpe, Stephens, and the Salzburgers. On 5 October 1741, Captain William Thompson, who delivered Stephens’s summer 1740 journal and other letters and papers to the trustees, dined with the Trustees in London and told them that Duche and other Georgians were planning a trip to London to complain to parliament about the trustees. On 8 October 1741 Stephens recorded that “the old Mutineers, as formerly. went on in assembling together to the number of twenty or more. . . . At the head of these were chiefly to be distinguished, Matthews, Duche, Woodrose, Ormston and Fallowfield.” Stephens also had trouble presiding over the Savannah court at this time. After an argument over court procedure, Duche and others demanded that Stephens not be allowed on the bench as he was not a magistrate, and several days of court unrest continued.<sup>116</sup>

Duche also continued eliciting support for his trip to London. On 14 October 1741, Bolzius wrote:

[Duche] intends to travel to London on business shortly and is willing to forward some things for us. . . . [He] is a very capable and intellectually curious person. . . . With General Oglethorpe’s authorization he has traveled amongst the Indians up in the mountains and has seen all sorts of singular things or else learned them from reliable persons. Amongst other things he recounted to me how amongst the Cherokees (a very populous nation, and amicable to England) where upon a cliff the footprints of an entire fleeing people, to wit, many men, women, and children, and all kinds of poultry, birds, and animals may clearly be seen. One also sees the imprint of fallen man who is trying to rise by supporting himself on both hands; this can be seen because his posterior and his heels are imprinted on the rock as in sand. . . . In the same region there are also some fire-spewing mountains, also a great cave in the cliff from which flows constantly a certain material which turns when it falls to the ground. There are very many deep caves, just as in Canaan. He can hardly find enough words for the bounteousness of the country.<sup>117</sup>

This description implies that Duche met with either Bolzius or Gronau in Savannah and then traveled to New Ebenezer, where, on



21 October, Duche installed a stove of earthenware tiles at his house!<sup>118</sup> Duche did quite a bit of boasting during this visit, all duly noted by Bolzius:

[He] will go in a few days [to London] to obtain some benefits for himself from the Trustees. . . . He has mastered the art of making chinaware or porcelain; this is much cheaper than that brought from China, yet his work is not the least bit inferior to it in quality. He is taking along much to London for display and also has General Oglethorpe's emphatic written recommendation with him. . . . we worry lest the East India Company would rather give him a good compensation than let such wares be sent to Europe from here. He also knows a marble quarry in this country from which he is taking along samples!<sup>119</sup>

At first glance, Bolzius's report appears to lend credence to Duche's actually completing his work on porcelain. A closer examination of the passage reveals the likelihood that Bolzius was merely paraphrasing Duche. Duche did not have a permit to go to London, his porcelain was not finished and was inferior to Chinese, and he only had Oglethorpe's mild recommendation. Also, he told Bolzius that if he was successful he would "bring many people into the country whom he will be able to employ in his work," adding that he would "have work for several hundred people in the country and on the river," an almost exact quote of an earlier boast to Stephens. Bolzius's information in both the 14 and the 21 October writings therefore does not prove that Duche brought his experimental porcelain to its final phase, although the 14 October entry does support the idea that Duche's travels may have led him to the inadvertent discovery of a kaolin source. The 21 October notes also verify the assertion in reference to Bolzius's report of 1 February 1740 that Duche made earthenware tiles for tile stoves used by the Salzburgers.

A few weeks after working with Bolzius, on 12 November 1741, Duche skulked off to Charleston. Stephens wrote that he believed Duche intended to find a ship there that would take him to London, perhaps in company with his son, Thomas Stephens, also a malcontent. Stephens, possibly to emphasize that the two were not friends, added: "tho my son in Conference with me when here, told me he thought him a downright Villain; and tis pity but he should be put in mind of what his Father affirms."<sup>120</sup> Four days later, Duche

returned to Savannah, having gotten no farther than Port Royal (see fig. 1). Duche claimed that there he had heard that war with France was imminent, and he was afraid that his porcelain samples might fall into the hands of privateers and the enemy if he continued his journey by sea, "and they would extort that Secret out of him, how, and with what, 'twas made: which if discovered, whold be of inestimable value to that Nation, and of equal loss to Great Britain," and for the sake of his country, he would wait. Stephens gleefully commented: "This was a matter of great merriment among all People of Common Sense: and some there were, who said, if he meant to be safe, he did well in not going as far as Charles Town for he might probably run as great a Risque there (for other Reasons known to himself) as among the Enemies Privateers."<sup>121</sup> While he was in Port Royal, the trustees in London decided that Duche owed them over £80, and Egmont wrote on 15 November that Duche was a "great [schemer] in politics and [a] worse [believer] than even Deists."<sup>122</sup>

On 17 December 1741, Duche, Edward Bush, Peter Morelle, Joseph Wardrope, and Thomas Ormston requested that they be given 500 acres of land on Hutchinson's Island (see fig. 13) which they would clear and cultivate themselves. They gave no reason for this request, which Stephens and his assistants denied, reasoning that the trustees had plans for the island and thus, unless so instructed, they did not think it proper to grant its land to anyone. Duche "after having cut Wood upon Hutchinson's Island several Days and being forbid, this Day petitioned this Board that he might have leave to cut Ash Wood upon the said Island to burn Earthenware with." His petition was also denied; no reason was given.<sup>123</sup>

Duche's activities from January to March 1742 were not documented. On 19 March 1742, Stephens wrote in his journal of the complaints of his assistants against John Pye, their clerk, alleging that he was giving out copies of Stephens's and his board's proceedings without their approval. Included in the list of those receiving these was Duche. Stephens opined that his assistants were overly zealous in their concern, but he also told John Pye to be more careful with his position.<sup>124</sup>

On 5 July 1742 a Spanish invasion that began in early 1742 ended when the Spanish forces were put down at St. Simon's Island. This may explain why, on 9 June 1742, Duche, John Pye, and others asked for boats and allowance to remove their wives and children from Savannah to safety. They were turned down, but they left Savannah anyway and went to Purrysburgh. Apparently, either be-

fore Duche left or while he was absent, he was reprimanded for his refusal in May 1742 to serve on the Savannah jury. The date of John Fallowfield's letter to the trustees in which that information was recorded was dated 27 July, and Duche did not return to Savannah until 1 August. Also on 27 July, Stephens noted that almost everyone who had left the province in June had returned with the exception of John Pye, Andrew Duche, James Burnside, and their wives. After recording this information, Stephens could not resist adding that

the Potter, who at his first going off pronounced Georgia to be a lost Colony, and scorns at any time to own himself mistaken, continued firm in maintaining it must be so, notwithstanding the repeated successes of the General . . . and the acct. we had of those several repulses given the Enemy, he affirmed to be nothing else but a pack of Falshoods, made up in like manner with other former Reports from hence, in order to . . . buoy up a sinking Opinion which the World began to have of this Colonys ever prospering unless the Scheme he had laid down for its preservation were pursued . . . but his Impudence at that time at Purysburgh, did not pass off so easily as he had found at Savannah. Some Gentlemen there well known to the General, rebuking his vile Tongue, which soon would have followed with farther correction, had he not sculked aside to avoid it.<sup>125</sup>

According to Stephens's report of 2 August, Duche returned to Savannah incognito. Some time before 7 August 1742, Duche, Bush, Morelle, Wardrope, Penrose and Ormston decided to reapply to the trustees for the 500 acres of land on Hutchinson's Island; however, the result was the same as their previous attempt.<sup>126</sup> On 6 August 1742 Stephens mentioned a "common Sickness falling among us" that had "seized some of our wandering unfix'd Inhabitants very lately . . . particularly Duche and his family."<sup>127</sup> Duche had suffered no illness. This was another tongue-in-cheek reference to Duche's politics and perhaps his attempts to acquire the land; family was a metaphor for his cronies. On 20 August 1742 Stephens took great delight in recounting that "the most remarkable thing I met with this day was, that Mr. Duche after so long disappearing, shew'd himself again in publick; but 'twas observed that most people who saw him, turned their backs, few of his old Comrades being now

left, to be entertained with his Political Jargon; and some of the last that left us, went away with their Curses upon him for leading them so long blindfold." Three days later, his discourse included the opinion that "if another (namely Duche) instead of receiving such Sums for his Encouragement, had received as much more to purchase his quitting the Colony, 'twould have been a good bargain for the Trust."<sup>128</sup>

Except for a note on 5 September 1742 that Duche and John Fallowfield were companions, complete with the addendum that "whatever contrivances they have been forming, I shall not fear being a Sufferer," the extant excerpts from Stephens's journal for that period did not mention Duche again until 8 November 1742. On that day Stephens recorded that Thomas Causton, Noble Jones, William Woodrose, and William Ewen had met, and rumors were circulating that another petition was being written.<sup>129</sup> Stephens did not discuss the specifics of that meeting in later journal entries. It seems that they were planning for the personal redressing of their grievances to the Trustees in London, for shortly thereafter, Duche once again tried to leave Georgia.

The events of the summer and fall of 1742, departure, unpopularity, and the fact that his dire predictions had been for naught, combined with the plotting of his fellow mutineers, increased Duche's desire to leave Georgia for England. As Stephens was of the opinion that Duche could not bear to admit that he was wrong, it is easy to see that he would become desperate in his attempts not to appear foolish. Therefore, it is not surprising that on the night of 19 November 1742, Duche stole out of Savannah in a boat loaded with "divers Chests, Casks, & other Effects" with the intent of boarding a sloop from New York bound for the Bermudas docked at Cockspur (Peeper) Island (fig. 20), an island for pilot boats in the river below Savannah. As he left without a permit and with "secret Designs in View which might be of evil Tendency in Respect to the Interest of the Trust," two officers were sent with a warrant to board the sloop, "if happily they find her not yet sailed" and bring Duche back to Savannah. On 20 November, the officers returned with Duche, and it was decided that he must "find Sureties to be answerable to the Trustees, for such Sums of Money as he stood charged with in their Books & not to depart the Colony 'till the Trustees Pleasure could be known therein: But he not readily finding such Security, it was determined that he should remain in the Officers Custody." He was then bound to the colony of Georgia in the penal sum of £400 until otherwise stated by the trustees.<sup>130</sup>



Figure 20. A Map of the County of Savannah, engraved by Tobias Lotter and published in Samuel Urlsperger's *Der ausführlichen nachrichten von der königlich-gross-britannischen colonie saltzburger emigranten in America*, Halle, 1735 and 1741. 16" X 14 5/8". Peeper (Cockspur) Island (E) and Purrsyburgh (C) are two of the settlements to which Duche traveled in 1742 in his attempts to leave Georgia. Also shown are Savannah (A), Ebenezer (B), Skidaway Island (D), and Pipemaker's Creek (F). MRF S-13, 213, acc. 3566.



Stephens also wrote of Duche's actions and arguments after his arrest and capture:

Upon Examination [Duche was] triffling and Inconsistent . . . Alledging that he was designing to go from Bermudas to England, and wait on the Trustees, with a Specimen of his China, which now he had brought to great Perfection (but nobody yet had seen it, nor had there been any talk of it for a while past, being looked on as a worn out topick); whilst his principal Employment for too long time past, by promoting so much trouble to be given the Trustees, might enable anyone to believe their Honours had little reason to shew him much Countenance in his favour.<sup>131</sup>

Stephens's description of Duche defending himself notwithstanding, Duche had his own version of these events, which he put forth to the Trustees in his 1743 memorial (see Appendix 2). He claimed that when he packed "several Casks of his Earthenware" aboard a sloop for Bermuda, nobody tried to stop him; instead they waited until the sloop landed at Cockspur Island to capture him as if he were an escaped prisoner.<sup>132</sup>

Duche was finally able to leave Georgia in February 1743. On 30 March 1743, Charles Watson, one of Stephens's assistants wrote Harman Verelst: "Duche's Affair has also I hope been set forth to the Board: He has given us the Slip by going first to Fredrica, and there I suppose got the General's pass for England; but as he is to take Virginia in his Way, I believe he wont presently reach England, if he ever does."<sup>133</sup> Apparently, Duche did get Oglethorpe's pass, obliquely referred to in the passage above, for in his memorial, Duche mentioned it. According to Stephens, Duche left for England a few days after he landed in Virginia.<sup>134</sup>

Why did Duche leave for England from Virginia and not Charleston? It is possible that Duche had debts in South Carolina or Charleston, and he did not want to pay them, or he was afraid he might be arrested for those debts. It is also possible that he wanted to travel to England quickly. The South Carolina general assembly had passed a law in 1698, made perpetual in 1712 and still in effect in 1743, stating that anyone capable of contracting debts in South Carolina had to wait twenty-one days or post a bond of £1000 before leaving the province by ship.<sup>135</sup> Since he had lived in Charleston in 1735, Duche may have still been considered a Charleston resident and not a transient, to whom the law may not



have applied. Duche may not have wanted to wait three weeks, or he probably did not have £1000 to post as bond. From what can be gleaned from an act passed in 1657 in Virginia, it seems that a person could leave Virginia after registering with his county government and waiting ten days, after which he received a pass enabling him to leave the province.<sup>136</sup> However, the law may not have applied to transients such as Duche, and thus, with General Oglethorpe's pass, he was able to leave Virginia without a prolonged wait.

Duche arrived in London on 26 May 1743.<sup>137</sup> There he either dictated or wrote his well-known memorial dated 9 September, which was read in his absence at the trustees' meeting of 23 September 1743. The memorial was quite lengthy and contained the description of what Duche believed was his mistreatment at the hands of Stephens and his assistants as well as a list of questions concerning what Duche believed was wrong with Georgia as a colony; however, he said nothing about his porcelain attempts, referring to his pottery only as earthenware. The trustees ordered that Duche appear, but he was not in attendance, so they resolved to look into the matter and requested reports from Stephens. They also decided that after considering the memorial and the answers to various inquiries, contingent on Stephens's report, Duche was to have been sent a reply.<sup>138</sup> There is no evidence that any of this was carried out.

The fact that Duche did not mention his porcelain experiments in the memorial and that he referred to the samples he had brought with him as earthenware is very important in interpreting Duche's reasons for traveling to London and presenting his complaints to the trustees. It has been suggested by those who first wrote about and researched Duche that he went to England with his porcelain samples and kaolin to present them before the trustees, and in doing so, became the catalyst for the granting of the first Bow factory patent of December 1744.<sup>139</sup> Although there is a possibility that this was so, in light of the evidence, or lack thereof, it would appear that porcelain and kaolin did not play a part in Duche's official demands to the trustees.

Why then did Duche go to the trustees, if not to ask for a patent for his porcelain? The reason could be found in his state of mind and his perceptions of the future of Georgia as a colony. He had been a long-time associate of the St. Andrew's club which fervently believed that Georgia, as a colony, was doomed under the regulations set forth by the original trustees. The instigators of the club, Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, and David Douglas had even pub-

lished a work entitled "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America," which was a negative description of Georgia as a suffering colony whose manufactures were on the decline and whose population was being destroyed by Indians.<sup>140</sup> Even though he acted foolishly, Duche honestly believed that Georgia would not prosper. He may have decided, while in Purrysburgh (see fig. 1) in 1742, that he did not wish to remain in Georgia unless situations changed. There was a matter of the £400 he owed the trustees for helping him establish his pottery and encouraging his attempts to produce porcelain, and he had to discover a way to avoid having to repay the debt which probably prevented his leaving Georgia honestly. When he finally did leave, he went to the trustees with a flowery deposition questioning their Georgia policies, stressing the injustice of a settler's having to repay money advanced for the purpose of establishing a manufacture.

Duche was not present at the reading of his memorial, either because he was tired of waiting or because he had already left London. He returned to America before 2 January 1744, and it is most likely that he had left England by October 1743. Just how Duche had spent about four months in London is unknown. Contemporary sources are silent, although a great deal of twentieth-century conjecturing has been done on the subject.

In 1739 and 1741 in statements made to Reverend Bolzius and in a petition, Duche claimed that he had discovered the secret for making porcelain. He even went as far as to boast that he was planning to display samples of his work.<sup>141</sup> In his memorial, however, Duche described his ceramics as "several casks of his earthenware," and there was no mention of his displaying porcelain to the trustees, nor that it was his plan to do so. He may have shown his work without its being recorded, but the idea is somewhat far-fetched, especially since Duche was not present at the official reading of his memorial. It is also odd that such an event, if it occurred, was not documented, since such a discovery was so important to the English.

It is most likely, however, that Duche knew the secret to porcelain manufacture but was unable to produce anything beyond the biscuit stage. His residence in New Windsor and travels in the Cherokee nation brought him into contact with kaolin sources. The possession of kaolin and the knowledge of its whereabouts in the colonies alone would have put him in an enviable position among his contemporaries. With about four or five free months in London, Duche certainly had ample opportunity to show samples of kaolin

to an individual or individuals with private interests in the domestic manufacture of porcelain. If Duche had financing for this in mind when he came to England, he probably did have some kaolin-based clay with him. There is even the possibility suggested by Bolzius that Duche might have been bought out by the English East India Company, who would not want their importation of porcelain from China threatened by any sort of domestic or American production. Duche's selling out would explain the lack of documentation, and as Duche seemed always to be looking out for himself economically, it is a viable suggestion. It is also known that Duche, after his return to America, became quite well-to-do, and he might have been financed in such a way.

Some interesting events were occurring in the western Carolinas at about the same time that Duche was in England which lend strength to the suggestion that he knew where kaolin could be found, not only in New Windsor but in the Cherokee nation as well. Because there is so little documentary material about Duche during 1743-46, these events involving his Indian trading associates in the Backcountry of the Carolinas cannot be directly linked to him, but Bolzius's 1741 records indicate that they may have had an effect on Duche's activities before, during, and after his visit to England.

On 7 October 1743, South Carolina Commons House member Dr. John Rutledge announced to the assembly that "he had been informed a Silver Mine had lately been found in one of the Indian [Cherokee] Nations."<sup>142</sup> A committee was formed that day to consider how the mine would affect the colony, and three days later they decided that opening the mine would "sink the Value of our Staple [rice], to the Ruin of the Planter, the Trade and Navigation, and the depopulating of the Townships." The committee continued investigating the report, however.<sup>143</sup>

On 11 October, several men testified about their experiences either at the mine or examining silver found there; among these were William Wright, a silversmith, Thomas Murray, and the traders and prospectors who claimed the mine belonged to them: Matthew Roche, John Dart, Jacob Motte, Childermas Croft, Commissioner of the Indian Trade from 1736-47, and James Graeme. Murray testified that he had been told the mine was in "a Place called the Valley;" (see fig. 1) amidst the Cherokee settlements, but he also expressed skepticism over the mine's existence, stating that he was "formerly up with Mr. Rathmaler searching for Mines all over that part of the County and has lived thereabouts seven years and further saith

not.” The most important deposition submitted on that day was that of Michael Christopher Row of Orangeburg (see fig. 1) who testified that in August 1743 there had been a public advertisement posted in his town that offered £15 per month to anyone who wanted to work in a mine in the Cherokee nation. Rowe added that those interested in the mine were to have met with James Maxwell, that Peter Crim was the overseer of the mine, and that Bernard Snell, a mine worker from Orangeburg, had returned with ore and bars of silver, which he took to Maxwell. James Maxwell, a member of the Commons House of assembly, was the provincial government’s representative to the Cherokees, and in the 1740s he was apparently also a principal Indian trader.<sup>144</sup>

On the morning of 14 October 1743, William Bull, Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, read a letter he had written the Duke of Newcastle “on the affair of the Silver Mine among the Cherokee.” The letter, dated 27 August 1743, included a copy of James Maxwell’s and Cornelius Doharty’s memorial and petition “intended to be presented to his Majesty in relation to Minerals discovered among the Cherokees Indians.” In their memorial, Maxwell and Doharty stated that the area was eight miles long and six miles wide in the middle of the Cherokee nation. They were quite specific about the territory, which they claimed the Indians had sold them, describing it as beginning at what was probably Brasstown Creek, and moving upward in a circle that ended back at the same creek.<sup>145</sup> They added that their purchase included “all the Priviledges Rights Members Appurtenances . . . Mines, Minerals and Metals . . . Gold Silver Copper Lead, Tin, Iron, or any other sort of Mineral, Metal, or precious Stones.” The memorialists then extolled the expenses resulting from several years spent searching for mines in the Cherokee Mountains and announced that they had discovered “very good Symptoms & Appearances of Iron Tin Lead & Copper with a mixture of Silver in the lands conveyed to them by the Indians.” At the end of the Memorial, before Maxwell and Doharty requested a Royal Grant for the land, they mentioned that they had support from various South Carolina shareholders.<sup>146</sup> A royal grant was necessary because increased Indian trade, inequitable Indian land purchases, and an escalation of Indian problems in the 1730s, had led to the passing of an act in South Carolina, on 18 December 1739, prohibiting the purchase of land from the Indians without a license or grant for that purpose.<sup>147</sup>

Murray’s testimony described the location of the silver mine as in the “the Valley” shown on John Mitchell’s map of 1755 (fig. 21) and









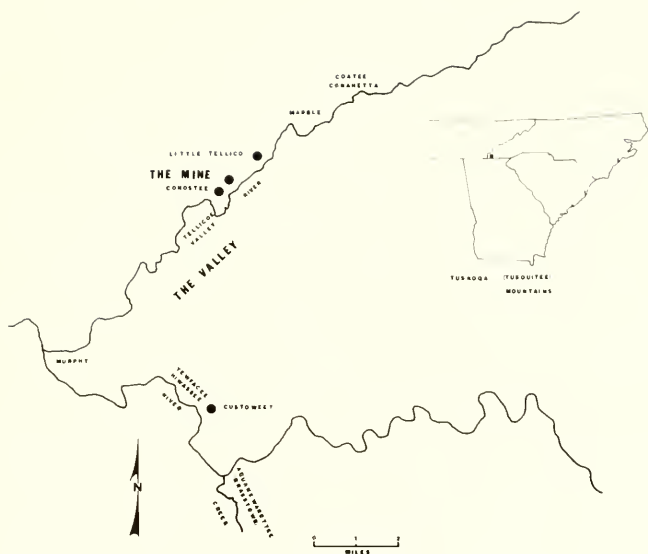


Figure 23. Map of the area James Maxwell and Cornelius Dobarty claimed they purchased, including the mine, in 1743. Line drawing by the author. MRF S-15,286.

trustees then read the clause of the Georgia charter that stated that all mines in the province of Georgia were automatically granted to the trustees by the King. The following day, the trustees read a letter from William Woodrose of Charleston, at one time a Duche consort, to Captain Alexander Heron. In it, Woodrose stated that the silver mine was in the province of Georgia. On 15 June 1744, the Georgia trustees read Maxwell and Doharty's 1743 petition, resolving that the tract mentioned most likely referred to lands in Georgia. Then they appealed to the King that if the silver mine was found to be within the territory of Georgia it belonged to the trustees, and if it were not found to be in the province of Georgia, it, as well as any other mines, should not be granted to private persons. This conflict between the Georgia trustees and South Carolina was not resolved, and the threat of war produced an inevitable political delay on the silver mine decision. No province got the mine, and the fervor eventually died down.<sup>151</sup>

All the digging for silver may have unearthed the kaolin that was described as being from the Cherokee nation in the English Heylyn and Frye porcelain patent of 6 December 1744. If so, Duche might have been instrumental in its importation. It is known that he had business links with Maxwell; in July and September 1744 he drew £466 from Charleston merchants Mackenzie and Roche and charged it to Maxwell's account. This implies that he was representing Maxwell in some transaction — it could have been money used to send kaolin to England or to invest in the Bow factory. In the first quarter of 1744, the *Registers of the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports* contained the following entry for the Port of London: "Earth Unrated: 20 tons (?) value £5: imported into London from Carolina."<sup>152</sup> If this "earth unrated" was kaolin, or unaker, it could be inferred that there was a connection between Duche's 1743 London visit, the imported clay, and the Heylyn and Frye patent, especially if Duche's 1739 desire to receive a porcelain patent still held true in 1743 and 1744. Several authors who have written about the Bow Factory believe that Duche, upon his arrival in London, sought financial backing for the purchase and export of kaolin which he had discovered. Theoretically, according to these writers, Duche found George Arnold, Heylyn and Fry's financier for the later Bow Factory property acquisition, in 1744, and Arnold aided him in the kaolin import. After the Cherokee clay arrived in England, Frye and Heylyn quickly applied for a patent in December 1744.<sup>153</sup> The Salzburger descriptions of Duche's familiarity with the Carolina mountains and the official records of the time he spent in New Windsor give this hypothesis a shaky foundation; however, without more evidence, it cannot be proven.

It is conceivable that Arnold was involved in the importation of kaolin to England. In 1741 Arnold acquired ownership of the ship *Hannah* which, at that time, was bound for Virginia and had been journeying back and forth between England and Virginia for some time prior to Arnold's purchase.<sup>154</sup> Arnold had relatives in Virginia; George Yeo of Elizabeth City County — across the river from Norfolk, Virginia — appointed two cousins executors of his will, one of which was Arnold, identified as a merchant in London.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps the imported earth was from the Doharty and Maxwell mine and was shipped to England in the *Hannah* under Duche's jurisdiction — another reason for Duche's traveling to England via Norfolk rather than Charleston.

The suggestion that Duche's visit to London possibly precipitated the Bow patent has been said to be supported by a 30 May 1745 let-

ter written by William Cookworthy, a Quaker chemist in Plymouth, England, to Richard Hingston, a surgeon in Penryn, Cornwall, England:

I had lately with me the person who hath discovered the china-earth. He had several samples of the china-ware of their making with him, which were, I think, equal to the Asiatic. 'Twas found in the back of Virginia, where he was in quest of mines; and having read Du Halde, discovered both the petuntse and kaolin. 'Tis the latter earth, he says, is the essential thing towards the success of the manufacture. He is gone for a cargo of it, having bought the whole country of the Indians where it rises. They can import it for £13 per ton, and by that means afford their china as cheap as common stone ware. But they intend only to go about 30 per cent under the [Dutch East India] company. The man is a Quaker by profession, but seems to be as thorough a deist as I ever met with. He knows a good deal of mineral affairs but not fundities.<sup>156</sup>

In this often-quoted letter, Cookworthy says his visitor had found kaolin in Virginia. This location could well have been the site of the Maxwell and Doharty mine as the extreme Backcountry was undefined at this time, and the maps of the area were often inaccurate.<sup>157</sup>

Cookworthy's visitor said he had been looking for mines and had bought from the Indians the land where the kaolin was located. This suggests Maxwell and Doharty's venture, for there are no other known purchases from the Indians made at that time. "Having bought from the Indians, the whole country where it rises" could have been Duche's exaggerated reference to his involvement in the area of the mine as an investor. The oblique references "china-ware of their making" and "they can import for £13 per ton" leads to more speculation. Perhaps the visitor was an agent for the newly-formed Bow Factory.<sup>158</sup>

Duche may have been Cookworthy's mysterious and anonymous visitor; however, it should be noted that this description of "the person who had lately discovered the china-earth" works at cross-purposes. It is just as possible to use it to suggest that the man who visited Cookworthy could not have been Duche. First of all, Cookworthy described his guest as "a Quaker by profession, but seems to be as thorough a Deist as I have ever met with." Duche does not appear to have ever been a Quaker; in fact, a list of carriage owners

in Philadelphia, compiled from 1769 tax records in 1772, listed Duche as an Anglican.<sup>159</sup> Hugh Tait believes that Duche was the visitor because of Cookworthy's reference to Deism and Egmont's comment that Duche was a worse believer than even a Deist. This is rather far-fetched. In the first place, Egmont accused Duche not of being a Deist, but of being worse than a Deist. Secondly, many eighteenth-century men were Deists (including Thomas Jefferson), and many discussed religion frequently; it was part of living in the age of reason. The accusation, rather than bringing researchers closer to the identity of Cookworthy's acquaintance, only deepens the mystery surrounding him. "Quaker by profession" is also oblique, and one interpretation of that description is that the man was not a Quaker at all, but only professed to be one to cultivate Cookworthy's acquaintance, and upon further discussion, Cookworthy saw through the facade. Tait feels that it would have been in character for Duche to have used such a pretense, but there were other men in England in the eighteenth century who would also have professed something of that sort in order to obtain an introduction.<sup>160</sup>

Ceramic historian Bernard Watney intimates that the visitor's several samples of china probably were made from imported kaolin in England, not America, and probably at the Bow factory. This may be closest to the truth, although Watney and others also have their own thoughts on possible Englishmen who could have paid a visit to Cookworthy.<sup>161</sup> Two other candidates for Cookworthy's visitor are Cornelius Doharty and James Maxwell, based, once again, on the part of the letter concerning the quest for mines, back of Virginia, and the visitor having acquired the land from the Indians. After all, Doharty had actually purchased that land with Maxwell, and there is only a chance that Duche was involved in the venture. If Maxwell or Doharty had uncovered kaolin in their search for silver, and in lieu of Duche's connection with Maxwell, as mentioned earlier, perhaps it was Duche who identified it for them. Maxwell or Doharty could then have traveled to England and met with Cookworthy. The visitor also could be found within the ranks of the knowledgeable American botanists of the period, many of whom traveled and climbed throughout the backcountry and had some knowledge of geology.

It is unfortunate that there is so little evidence on any of the topics discussed in the preceding paragraphs. The letter sheds little light on the connection between American kaolin, the English Bow factory, and the Heylyn and Frye patent of 1744, for it is too

general, with too many variables to consider. Perhaps future research will provide support for one of the ideas suggested above. As it stands at present, there is a possibility that Duche was involved in the events surrounding the early manufacture of porcelain in England, but it is much more likely that he had given up his claims to the secret of porcelain manufacture after he left England.

Duche returned to the colonies before 2 January 1744, the date he witnessed the delivery of three slaves to Gabriel Guignard from Rene Merchant (Marchant) upon receipt of Guignard's bond for £1000 South Carolina currency. Merchant was a planter and Guignard a cooper, and both men were from Charleston. Duche's presence in Charleston was confirmed by Stephen's journal entry of 6 January 1744: "By two of our People who returned from some Business at Charles Town, all we learned was that Mr. Duche was newly arrived from his European Expedition, but with what Success we know not."<sup>162</sup> Stephens was able to glean more details two weeks later, and on 17 January, he wrote:

Mr. Dobell [Savannah schoolmaster] having returned home last night from Charles Town, made his appearance this morning and . . . I understood by him that he had often spoke with Mr. Duche there, who told him how kindly the Trustees had received him, and given him leave to sell all his Effects and Improvements here, telling him with all that they determined to do greater things for the Colony than any they had done yet, and even more than the people asked. Their kind Dispositions we had no reason to doubt; but what Grant he had in particular obtained from them, relating to the Disposal of all he had, I thought would best appear when he shew'd us their orders, or I received advice from them concerning it.<sup>163</sup>

According to this passage, Duche did not return to Georgia after his 1743 trip. A few days before 8 February 1744, Mary Duche told Stephens:

that her Husband had wrote her to come to Charles Town, and asking me whether she could go, I told her I had no Objection to it, provided she carried nothing with her the Trust had a right to. . . . After proper Caution taken that nothing of Value was taken away with her, but chiefly some Bedding and a little necessary household furniture, She went off this



morning leaving it doubtfull among her acquaintance when to expect her Return. Being in good Repute and well Spoken of by all her Neighbors, as a discreet prudent Woman, utterly averse to her husbands projects and Wild Attempts to reform whatever he thought amiss in the Constitution of the Colony, and continually advising him to lay aside politicks, and stick to his Trade of Pottery, there being such a great demand for all sorts of Common plain Ware in this and most of the Neighbouring Provinces, that 'twas sufficient to enable him to live reputably, and save money — but his great Genius was not to be so circumscribed.<sup>164</sup>

Even the above description of Mary Duche's thoughts on her husbands' activities mention nothing about porcelain, referring only to common ware in Georgia and other neighboring provinces. Surely Duche's wife would speak of Duche's porcelain in the same way if he had produced any worth mentioning.

After Mary removed their belongings from Savannah to Charleston, she and Duche were never mentioned as residents of Savannah again. Duche's removal from Georgia was probably a great relief to all parties concerned with running the colony. Certainly Stephens had no reason to want him back in Georgia, nor did the trustees have any reason for keeping him in the colony other than the more than £400 he owed them. They may have decided that getting money from him was a lost cause and not worth the trouble of keeping him in Georgia. Duche was anxious to leave a place he considered doomed, run by a government he claimed he detested, and where he could be questioned closely about his aborted attempts at making porcelain. Also, General Oglethorpe had left Georgia in 1743, and with him went any support from Georgia authorities for Duche. The trustees never wrote Stephens about the memorial because they were willing to leave the situation as it was: with Duche in Charleston. After Mary left, Stephens did not want to remind the trustees of the subject in case it meant Duche's return. Whatever belongings of Duche's that were left in Savannah probably were sold and the proceeds used to repay the trustees.

Although Duche did not return to Savannah, the pottery was continued there until at least April 1755 by William Ewen. Ewen, originally a basket maker, had arrived in Savannah as an indentured servant to Thomas Causton, the trustees' storekeeper, in December



1734. Ewen wrote several letters to Oglethorpe and Harman Verelst in 1735, praising Georgia, thanking them for indenturing him to Causton, and asking them to grant him a lot, promising to work hard. At some point after this period, Ewen became disillusioned with the state of affairs in Georgia, and in 1738 allied himself with the malcontents by signing the same 9 December 1738 petition Duche had signed. After Causton was replaced by Thomas Jones as storekeeper, Ewen moved to Skidaway Island (see fig. 20) to farm a fifty-acre lot. Ewen had difficulty cultivating his Skidaway lands and abandoned them before 4 December 1740. In 1741, Ewen was chosen to be one of five correspondents with Thomas Stephens, William Stephens's son and one of the malcontents' principal agents. On 27 October 1742, Stephens wrote Verelst that Duche, Ewen, and others were cohorts.<sup>165</sup>

In February 1748 Ewen was Indian trading with Duche in the Cherokee Nation, but he was back in Savannah by September of that year, for his application for 500 acres in Georgia was granted. By 1752 his work as a potter was recorded, for the 1752 will of Peter Morel, a Savannah victualer, disclosed that one of the executors appointed was "Mr. William Ewen of the Town of Savannah Potter."<sup>166</sup> In 1755, Ewen petitioned the governor and council of Georgia for a public lot, stating that "he had followed the Trade of a Potter Six years, and . . . his kiln, which was in danger of falling, stood on another Person's Lot, and as he should be obliged to build a new one. . . . He was desirous of doing it on his own Land; and therefore praying for half of one of the Public vacant Lots in Savannah."<sup>167</sup> Ewen's 1755 request resulted in the granting of public lot P in Savannah for his kiln; it is likely that the kiln Ewen mentioned was Duche's. Eventually, Ewen gave up potting and turned his attention to politics, becoming a member of the Georgia Commons House in 1761, then president of the Georgia Provincial Congress in 1775. On 8 February 1781, his estate notice was published in the *Savannah Royal Georgia Gazette*, so he must have died some time before then.<sup>168</sup> It is unfortunate that there is so little information on Ewen as a potter. As it is apparent that he was closely associated with Duche and his political activities, and was even sent by Duche to Charleston in 1742 to see if he could procure him passage to England, it is almost a certainty that he took over Duche's kiln probably upon his return from the Cherokee country in 1748.

After Duche left Georgia, documentation on his activities and whereabouts becomes scarcer, for he was an Indian trader in an area where few records were kept and no newspapers existed. Details of his life and trades after he left off Indian trading and moved to Norfolk, and later, Philadelphia, are also difficult to locate. Although good records were kept of land transactions, deeds, and other less personal documents, Norfolk and Philadelphia were large urban areas with impersonal records. The relatively small number of inhabitants in Savannah insured that everyone knew everyone else's business, and therefore it was easy for Stephens to record Duche's activities.

Duche seems to have been in Charleston, or at least to have had dealings therein, until about or after 7 September 1744; this is based on the records of his having drawn £466 (£400 on 5 July 1744 and £66 on 7 September 1744) from Charleston merchants Mackenzie and Roche. Unfortunately, the nature of the £466 drawn to Maxwell's account was not described.<sup>169</sup> In a letter of 31 October 1744, written in Savannah, Duche's friend and fellow malcontent Jonathan Pye referred to "Mr. Duche now in England."<sup>170</sup> Although ceramic historians in the past have used Pye's letter to support the theory that Duche was Cookworthy's visitor, the Pye letter is not strong evidence. It is possible that Pye had not been in contact with Duche since he had left Georgia for England in 1743 and therefore did not know that Duche had returned from England before 6 January 1744. It is known that Duche was in South Carolina in December 1745, for in an 18 March 1746 memorial to the South Carolina Upper House of Assembly, he stated that "in the month of December last [he had entered] . . . this Province by way of Virginia having with him considerable quantity of goods, in order to carry on trade among Indians." The memorial also adds that he had traveled "the land passage, which he has travelled thro' at different times within these three years past."<sup>171</sup> This indicates that Duche must have been traveling as an Indian trader from the time of his return from England to the time that he presented his 1746 memorial, and that he had somehow acquired goods in Virginia with which he could trade. The most likely place for him to have acquired these goods was Norfolk, although no records of his doing so have been found. Also, at some point in this period, he rented his Savannah house to William Spencer, for in September 1746, Spencer wrote Harman Verelst that he was paying £8 per annum rent to Duche.<sup>172</sup>

On 13 March 1746, Duche presented his Indian passage recommendation (see Appendix 3) to the South Carolina Commons

House of Assembly. It was sent to the South Carolina Upper House of Assembly where it was read on 18 March 1746. In the memorial, he recommended that a road be built "to the town of Keewohee in the Cherokee Nation" from Charleston, claiming that it was possible and adding that it would benefit South Carolina's Indian trade. Duche even offered to build the road himself. The Upper House approved Duche's petition and sent it back down to the Commons House of Assembly. Nothing more is known about Duche's proposal other than the fact that a committee for Indian affairs was set up after the reading of his and other memorials and messages. It can be assumed that the Commons House let it founder in committee, for although the Upper House had approved the petition, the Commons House probably decided that £500 sterling was a prohibitive expense.<sup>173</sup>

1748 was a troubled year for traders in the Cherokee nation: they were having difficulty keeping the treaty made with Cherokees. The Cherokees were not allowed to make any trade agreements with the French or any Indians who had trade agreements with the French, and in exchange, South Carolina promised to protect the Cherokees from their enemy Indian nations. Apparently, the Cherokees had fallen prey to the overtures made by the French and the Nottawas who were in league with them. As a result, several traders were kidnapped by the Indians and one, Edward Carroll, was murdered. Duche, who spent most of 1748 trading with the Cherokees in the valley and around Keowee (fig. 24; see also fig. 1), was among those who protested Carroll's killing. On 28 February 1748, he, James Beamer, and William Ewen, all referred to as "Traders in the Cherokee Nation," wrote a letter to the governor of South Carolina in which they described the murder and complained "of the great Insolence of the Indians to the Traders in that Nation."<sup>174</sup> On 8 April, the South Carolina Upper House of Assembly passed a resolution that the governor, James Glen, send an express to Beamer, Duche, and Ewen with "direction to acquaint the Cherokees that he hath been informed of the Murder of Edward Carroll and the abuse of James Butler and as the Head Men at Keowee have ordered that the Indian who Killed Carroll be shot by two Men of Tugeloo at his Return from War, his Excellency will be Satisfied therewith if they perform that Promise and make Satisfaction to Butler for his abuse."<sup>175</sup>

Between 5 April and 13 April 1748, Duche, other traders, and their packhorse men, including Duche's packhorse man, John Gillespie, wrote five letters to the governor. Although these letters

were not described, it is probable that they were more complaints about the Indians. On 28 April 1748, Glen addressed the Commons House of Assembly concerning Indian affairs, and in his address he referred to the traders who wrote the April letters as “obscure Indian-Traders and Pack-Horse Men” imposing on the government through “Lying Letters and False Reports.”<sup>176</sup> An examination of the South Carolina Upper House and Commons House journals from the period revealed a discrepancy between Glen’s address and his earlier support of the traders. Until he spoke before the assembly, he had appeared to appreciate the problems the traders in the Cherokee nation were having. Neither journal sheds light on the reasons for his reversal.



Figure 24. Detail of A Map of the Indian Nations in the Southern Department, attributed to John Gerar William DeBrahm, 1766. 22 1/2" X 18". Keowee (B), the area where Duche traded, is shown in relation to the Valley (A), Fort Moore (C), and Charleston (D). Collection of William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. MRF S-15,287.

In June 1748, Duche was back in Charleston, for on 14 June he, identifying himself as a trader, sold two slaves, Toney and Simon, to James Withers. It appears that this transaction, the last South Carolina record to mention Duche, may have been part of Duche’s preparation for leaving South Carolina and the Indian trading business, for in January 1749, Duche obtained a tavern license in Norfolk County, Virginia.<sup>177</sup> A reason for his abandonment of Indian

trading can be found in a resolution passed by the South Carolina Upper House on the day before it adjourned for the year 1748. Attempts to prevent the Cherokees from trading with the French had little effect. The committee on Indian Affairs in South Carolina had decided before 29 June that, in order to "shew a resentment to the Keowee and some other of the lower Cherokees," no licensed trader was allowed to go from Charleston to Keowee until the Indians there had made reparation for their misconduct. If they did not, then the governor would suspend all trade between the colony and the Cherokees.<sup>178</sup> With the threat of the loss of his livelihood Duche, in all likelihood, left Keowee before June 1748, with the intention of making a home in the Norfolk area.

During the time that Duche was abandoning his Indian trade and establishing himself in Norfolk, a discovery was made that cannot be related to Duche's documented activities, but is tantalizing since it pertains to the history of American kaolin that seems to pursue Duche. On 24 June 1749, John Campbell wrote to Arthur Dobbs of Carrikerghus, Ireland, about some land in North Carolina: "I send you in a small box a sample of white clay and the ore intermixed with the vein which has been traced above a mile in Edgecombe county. The clay resembles what I saw at Bow for their china ware which I believe is only a bubble with the undertakers. The clay is near water carriage and if worth anything enough might be had. The land is vacant and it is communicated to me as a secret by some persons who pretend to be judges of these fossils but desire your opinion."<sup>179</sup> In 1749 Edgecombe County, now in eastern North Carolina, was a large land mass extending almost to the Virginia border. Its southwestern portion was connected to the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. John Campbell has not been identified, although there was a writer named John Campbell who was an authority on industry, trade, and the European settlements in America, and who, in 1765, was made an agent for Georgia. Arthur Dobbs was an Irish surveyor, and in 1754 he was appointed governor of North Carolina. Dobbs had been interested in North Carolina as early as 1741 when he and several members of Parliament joined in land ventures which included areas in North Carolina.<sup>180</sup> The exact location of this clay discovery is unknown, but Campbell's knowledge in comparing the clay to what he had seen being used at Bow for their china is interesting, as is the fact that the clay discovery occurred just as Duche might have been passing through the area on his way to Norfolk. Unfortunately, no further mention of Campbell's clay has been found.<sup>181</sup>





Figure 25. Detail of Map of Virginia, by Herman Boye, *Virginia?*, 1827. Dimensions not recorded. Portsmouth (A), Norfolk (B), Paradise Creek (C), Julian's Creek (D), and Tanner's Creek (E), all areas where Duche bought or leased property, are represented. Courtesy of the Map Collection, Archives Branch, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. MRF S-15,288.

Duche seems to have moved to Norfolk to further his interest in the mercantile business. A year after he was granted his 1749 tavern license, on 2 May 1750, an unknown Norfolk shipping merchant noted that Duche had received 3364 yards of fabric for £180. Also that year, Duche was listed with an unidentified Jacob Brown in Christopher Perkin's list of "Tithables in the Borough of Norfolk, and down the South side of Daniel Tanners Creek." Duche renewed his tavern license in April 1751, but after that, he did not renew it again. On 10 May 1751, Duche bought 129 acres of land on the west side of "the Southern Branch [Elizabeth River] below the Great Bridge" from Benjamin Hodges, a carpenter, for £30 Virginia currency. In the deed, Duche was identified as a merchant of Norfolk. Duche was referred to as a merchant of either Norfolk or Portsmouth in all his later transactions.<sup>182</sup>

Duche bought quite a bit of land in the Norfolk area (fig. 25) in 1751 and 1753: 100 acres in Norfolk for £25 on 21 November 1751, Portsmouth town lots 6 and 7 on Water Row (fig. 26), upon which he built a wharf, 200 acres near the head of Paradise Creek for £50, 200 acres at the head of Julian's Creek on the west side of the



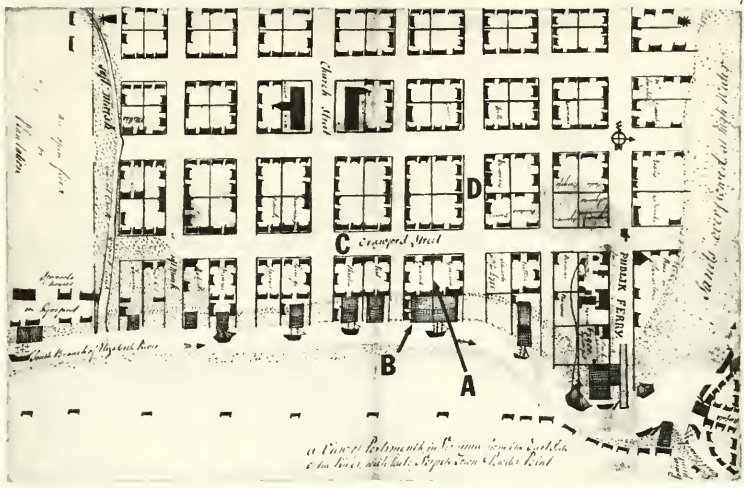


Figure 26. A View of Portsmouth in Virginia from the East Side of the River, with Part of Norfolk Town, and Powder Point, Virginia?, c. 1780, shows the location of lots 6 (North) and 7 (South) (A) bought (1753) by Duche and later sold (1762) to John Goodrich whose name appears on the lots, Water Row property facing South Branch of the Elizabeth River (B), and Crawford Street (C) and London Street (D). Dimensions not recorded. This map was in the Loyalist claims of the Reverend John Agnew. Collection of the Public Records Office, London, AO13/27, Bundle A, Folio 166. MRF S-15,289.

southern branch of the Elizabeth River for £35 Virginia currency, and 50 acres on the south side of the Elizabeth River, all in 1753. In February 1754, Duche was appointed overseer of the roads for Norfolk County. He also continued acquiring land, making a number of purchases that year. In March 1754, he acquired 200 additional acres near Julian's Creek, known as White Oak Ridge; on 18 July of that year, he bought 150 acres on the west side of Paradise Creek. On 17 October 1754 he purchased 100 acres near the western branch of the Elizabeth River. Duche posted a bond for Hannah Duche's marriage to William Kid in December 1754. It has been suggested that Hannah was Duche's daughter, but she probably was James Duche's wife, Hannah, who would have been a widow in 1754, for James, Andrew's brother, died in 1750.<sup>183</sup>

On 20 February 1755, Duche "Now of the Town of Portsmouth . . . Merchant" leased land from John Ellegood, a Norfolk merchant.<sup>184</sup> In February 1756 Duche purchased 18 1/2 acres in Norfolk County near a marsh. On 28 December 1756, he appraised the estate of William Ball, a deceased Norfolk County shipwright. Two years later, on 21 September, a puzzling entry was recorded in a

Norfolk County Court order Book: "It is ordered that the Church Wardens of Elizabeth River Parish [Norfolk] bind Andrew Duche to George Snow he complying with the law."<sup>185</sup> This appears to be an apprenticeship, but the wording is vague, and Snow's trade could not be identified. Apparently, if church wardens were involved in an apprenticeship, it meant that the child was either an orphan or a bastard, and it is possible that the entry had nothing to do with the potter-turned-merchant. It is also possible that this Andrew Duche was a bondsman for Snow's marriage. It is known that Snow married Mary Morrison on 5 January 1754, but she may have died and Snow may have remarried.<sup>186</sup>

On 20 March 1760, the Duches' deeds of lease and release to Humphrey Roberts, merchant, of Portsmouth were acknowledged after having been privately examined and recorded. The land was his Paradise Creek and Elizabeth River property, and it sold for £350. One of Duche's Norfolk houses, located between stores of other retailers, was rented on 29 April 1761 to Alexander Bruce, grocer and retailer. On 21 July 1761, Duche appraised the estate of George Waff, deceased.<sup>187</sup> During August 1761, John Joachim Zubly, a clergyman and Georgia statesman in Savannah, was writing Duche in attempts to buy Duche's Savannah farm lot 1 in Tower Tything, Decker Ward. In his petition to the Georgia Governor and Council for the lot, Zubly stated that he had "used every means in his Power to purchase the said Lot by application to the said Duche in Virginia, and to his Attorney here, but without Effect."<sup>188</sup> It is not known whether Zubly was granted the lot or not, nor has the identity of Duche's "Attorney" been discovered, although he probably was Ewen. The Georgia council resolved that consideration of Zubly's petition would be postponed until other vacant farm lots had been considered.

On 1 June 1762 Duche was mentioned in his father's will and bequeathed five shillings.<sup>189</sup> From June 1762 to August 1763, Duche and his wife sold most of their Norfolk area property, including their Portsmouth lots and "half an acre lying in a town called Wil-lonton, alias Pokohantas" previously purchased from Richard Witon. On 22 July 1763 Duche gave Robert Tucker, Norfolk gentleman, power of attorney to collect debts and rents.<sup>190</sup>

Duche may have left Norfolk for England after 18 August 1763. Tucker's appointment indicates that Duche planned to leave Norfolk and by 1765, Duche was in Bath, England. It has been suggested by the ceramic historian Elizabeth Adams, in private correspondence, that Duche may have had rheumatism or gout and

that he went to Bath with the purpose of taking the waters, for it was not uncommon for wealthy colonists to do that. While in Bath, on 12 March 1765, Duche, identified as a gentleman in the policy, took insurance out on property there: a house on Frog Lane (fig. 27) in St. Michael's parish valued at £60, and four tenements adjoining the house, one of which was occupied by a cabinetmaker, valued at £240 total.<sup>191</sup>



Figure 27. Detail from *A New and Correct Plan of the City of Bath*, engraved by W. Hibbard, Bath, 1772. Dimensions not recorded. The arrow indicates the location of Frog Lane. Collection of Reference Library, Bath, Aron, England. MRF S-15,290.

Duche returned from England before 19 April 1769. On that date he witnessed the auction of a lot that had belonged to Jacob Ellegood; from its sale Duche received £1500. On 22 May 1769 an announcement appeared in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg: "Norfolk. I intend to leave this colony soon, for some time. Andrew Duche." On 15 June Duche transferred a lot to Stephen Tankard for five shillings.<sup>192</sup> On the same day, Duche gave Samuel and John Boush power of attorney. This was Duche's last Norfolk transaction.<sup>193</sup>

On 14 November 1769, he bought the rights to receive £9 Pennsylvania currency rent for a 14-foot by 30-foot lot on High Street and Strawberry Alley in Philadelphia for £130. He was apparently taxed that year for either that property, or the property on Union Street he later mentioned in his will, for a list of Philadelphia carriage owners based on tax lists and printed in 1772 included Duche as an Anglican with no occupation who owned a chariot worth £12.<sup>194</sup> Duche also paid taxes in Philadelphia (£12.10) in 1774 and was identified as a gentleman in Dock Ward. In the eighteen-penny tax list from which this tax information was gleaned, the number thirteen appeared beside his name, and he was also listed under Jacob Duche, Jr.'s name. Jacob was taxed for £22.10, which Andrew paid him.<sup>195</sup>

Duche's move to Philadelphia came shortly before the establishment of Gousse Bonnin's and George Anthony Morris's China Manufactory on the block between Front and Second streets and Prime Street and China Street (Alter Street). In 1769, Gousse Bonnin appeared as "Goose Bonnen" on the eighteen-penny tax list for Dock Ward, and the number ten was beside his name.<sup>196</sup> Duche's name was not on that tax list, as he moved to Philadelphia after it was taken, but in 1774, he too was on the Dock Ward list. Bonnin and Morris's China Manufactory's first public advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* on 1 January 1770, while still under construction, and it was completed in July 1770 — a little over a year after Duche had announced his departure from Norfolk. The manufactory ceased production in about September 1772, and it was closed by November of that year. Sherds from this successful, albeit shortlived, porcelain manufactory have been excavated and several intact specimens are located in private collections.<sup>197</sup> An analysis of the paste from these pieces proved them to be soft-paste, bone-ash porcelain unlike the hard-paste porcelain Duche had attempted to produce.

It is perhaps ironic that Duche returned to the city of his birth in time to witness the success of the first documented American porcelain factory. Although proof of any association between Duche and the Bonnin and Morris manufactory has not been found, it might not be illogical to suppose that there was a connection, at least through proximity. On 15 March 1770, an advertisement in the *Charleston South Carolina Gazette* concerning Bonnin and Morris's factory included this statement: "also all those who are inclined to encourage this undertaking, are requested to be expeditious in forwarding their commands." If such a statement encouraging



financial aid appeared in Charleston, it can be assumed that Bonnin and Morris's needs were well-known in Philadelphia. It is therefore possible that Duche contributed to the factory.

On 10 June 1777, Andrew Doz, Duche's nephew and a house carpenter, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* that he had four acres of clover and grass, adding that anyone interested could apply at "Mr. Duche's in Union-Street, near Third-street." Doz lived outside of Philadelphia in Southwark. A little less than a year after Doz's advertisement, on 20 May 1778, Duche placed an announcement in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* himself: "TO be SOLD, a BRICK HOUSE and LOT in Union-Street, near the south east corner of Third-street; it has a two story kitchen, with an alley leading to the same, a small garden, and clear of ground rent. Also a NEGRO WOMAN, who understands both town and country work, but has been chiefly used to the country, and for which she would be of most service. Inquire of Andrew Duche, near the corner of Third-street in Union-street." Duche may have been ill, possibly dying, and wished to sell his property to avoid taxes. He made out his will on 18 August 1778, mentioning his nephews, John and Swanson, both shipwrights, Swanson's wife Ann, niece Ann Estler and husband Henry, daughter Elizabeth Johns, greatniece Elizabeth, and greatnephew Thomas. As he did not mention his wife or any children, it can be assumed that they predeceased him.<sup>198</sup>

He left a lot of land in Norfolk, one hundred acres of land and two town lots in Savannah, a slave, Diana, and 1000 continental dollars to John. To Swanson he bequeathed his tenements and lot on the south side of Union Street (fig. 28) in Philadelphia, and 1000 continental dollars; 1066  $\frac{2}{3}$  continental dollars were to be put in trust for Ann Estler. His executors were Andrew Doz, Edward Duffield, nephew of Jacob Duche, Sr.'s second wife, and Benjamin Wynkoop, a Philadelphia merchant. Duche also requested that his funeral be as quiet as possible. According to Hommel, Duche's signature on the will was shaky, and beside was an interesting black seal: "On it a crest is emblazoned: two martlets respectant above a supporting bar, and surmounted by a coronet."<sup>199</sup>

Duche died either 17 or 18 September 1778. His death was noted in the 18 September 1778 *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. His will was probated on 19 September 1778. Apparently, there is an inventory of Duche's estate, as it has been mentioned in at least three Duche biographies; however, an extensive attempt to locate the appraisal came to naught in 1985. It appears that Hommel actually saw

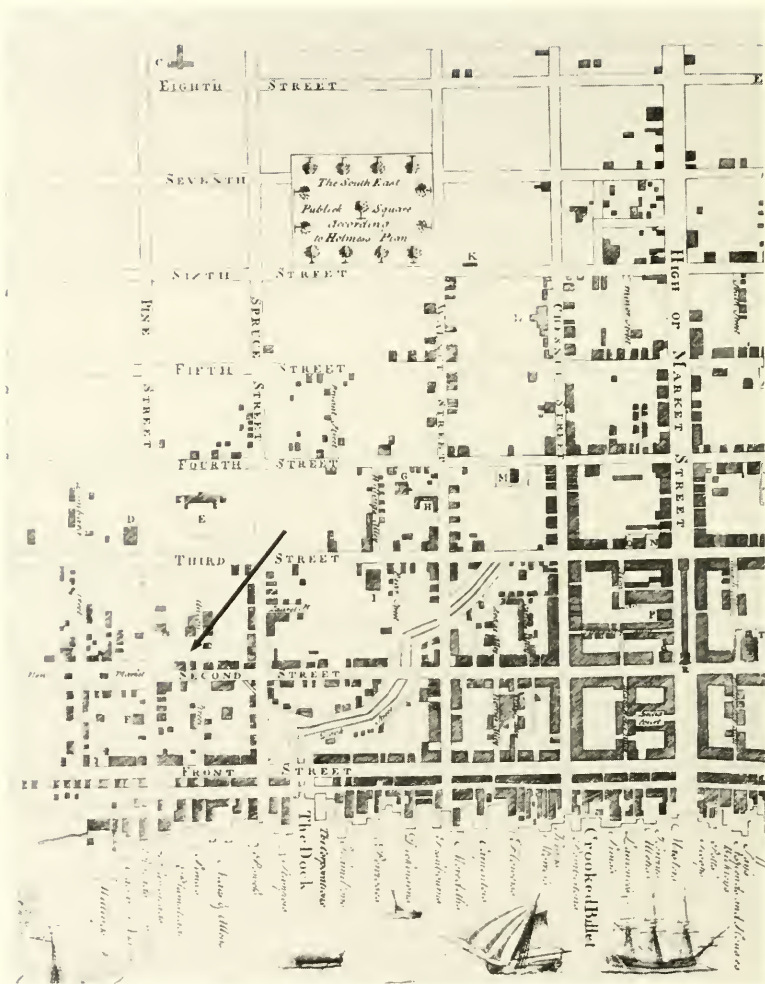


Figure 28. Detail of Plan of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania by Nicholas Scull, Philadelphia, 1762. Dimensions not recorded. The arrow indicates the general location of Duche's property on the south side of Union Street. Collection of I. N. Pbelps Stokes Collection, Prints Division, New York Public Library, MRF S-15,291.



the inventory, for he went as far as to state that Andrew Doz submitted it, Wynkoop and Duffield having declined, and Hommel also listed Duche's earthenware and its value, giving the total value of Duche's possessions as £2516:12:4, not including his Philadelphia, Norfolk, or Georgia properties. Hommel was eager to reveal everything he had gleaned from Duche's inventory, so it can be assumed that no potters' tools or related items were included in the appraisal.<sup>200</sup> On 24 October 1778, Doz, as Duche's acting executor, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* that an auction of Duche's household and kitchen furniture would be held at Duche's house on Union Street, near the corner of Third. He also asked for the settlement of Duche's debts.<sup>201</sup>

It is not known whether Duche carried on any type of business upon his return to Philadelphia. His father, Anthony, had left Duche's sister, Ann, the mercantile business, and there is no evidence of its existence after that period. The business may have been sold or passed into the hands of Ann's husband when she married in 1763.<sup>202</sup> Duche mentioned no business in his will, and a search through the Philadelphia city directories of 1785-91 failed to reveal any Duche in the mercantile business. John Duche, the son of Anthony Duche, Jr., was listed as a boatbuilder in two of the three directories.<sup>203</sup> John did not appear in any directories after 1791, although a series of Duche property maps made by John on 14 November 1794 indicate that he was still alive at that time. He and Jacob Duche, also Andrew's nephew, like their uncle, had strong political leanings.<sup>204</sup> John was elected at least twice, on 16 August 1775 and 16 February 1776, to the Committee for the city and liberties of Philadelphia from the district of Southwark which lay outside the city of Philadelphia.<sup>205</sup>

It is disappointing that there is only cursory information on Andrew Duche's life in Philadelphia prior to his death. His social status and his financial standing apparently put him at the level of a gentleman, although the source of his income remains in doubt to this day. The volume of knowledge of Duche's life and activities has been demonstrated in this work, yet so much crucial information remains unknown. Duche probably did discover kaolin in the New Windsor area and perhaps the Cherokee nation, but his experiments with porcelain in Savannah were unsuccessful. Contemporary statements have shown that the general belief of that time was that Duche knew about the ingredients for porcelain, but never actually produced any. Although Cookworthy's famous visitor is

still unknown, there is a chance that, as so many have suggested before, he was indeed Duche. If so, Duche might have introduced kaolin from either New Windsor or “the Valley” or both to Heylyn and Frye, precipitating the porcelain patent of 1744. Because of Duche’s political activities in Georgia, his actual success in that aspect of his career and its ramifications are masked. What remains are his successes in the production of other types of pottery. The Salzburgers’ records, Stephens’s journal, the “AD” jug, and the sherds from the Hird lot site all attest to his ability as a utilitarian potter. He was not only the earliest potter to work south of Virginia, but he also was one of the South’s earliest stoneware producers, and, all porcelain debates aside, for that he can be remembered without any doubt.

## Appendix 1.

Duche's New Windsor Grant (1737) *Royal Grants*, Vol. 41, 190; S. C. Archives, *Colonial Plats*, Vol. 2, 230:

By virtue of a precept to me directed by James St. John, Esq., his Majesty Surveyor General bearing date the 4th of Octr. 1735, I have admeasured and laid out unto Andrew Duche a tract of land containing one hundred and fifty acres, situate lying and being in [Granville] County, in the Township of New Windsor: Butting and bounding E. on Jasper Nagels Land, S. on John & Adam Liectenstager, W & N on vacant lands: And both such shapes found and marked trees as are specified by the above delineated plat. Given under my hand the 29th day of June 1737, Charles Gillespie, D. S.

The 4 October 1735 plat drawn up by the deputy surveyor was preceded by the survey of the land initiated by a precept from the surveyor general who had received a warrant for the precept's issuance from the governor and council. Duche had to apply for this warrant before any of the action described above could take place. The time involved in this process is unknown, but it probably took several months prior to 4 October 1735.

After the 1735 plat was recorded, the surveyor general would certify the plats in duplicate as received from the deputy surveyor. One copy was retained by the office of the surveyor general and the other was sent to the secretary of the province who prepared the grants. The grant was signed by the governor in the presence of his council, and this was recorded by the secretary.<sup>206</sup>

## Appendix 2.

Duche's Memorial to the Trustees in London (1743):

This memorial was written 9 September 1743 and presented 23 September 1743 to the Georgia Trustees in London. Duche was not present at the reading. It can be assumed that these are Duche's own words except that, as it was recorded by the Trustees, it was transcribed in the third person rather than the first.

Read a Memorial from Mr. Andrew Duche dated the ninth Instant, Setting forth, that in the Year 1735, he had begun to make a Settlement at New Windsor in South Carolina, and carried the same on till July 1736 When Mr. Roger Lacey Agent from Georgia to the Cherokee Indians arrived at New Windsor in his way to the said Indians; Who, having been informed of the Trade and Manufactory propos'd to be carried on by the said Duche, the said Lacey came to him, and persuaded him to go to Savannah to Mr. Oglethorpe, Who would give him all reasonable Encouragement; And to remove all Duche's Objections, he assured him, That the Trustees had promis'd him the said Lacey before he left England, That the Tenures of the Lands should be alter'd to Fee Simple; And that the Use of Negroes should be allowed to the Inhabitants: Which inducing the Memorialist to go to Savannah, and wait on Mr. Oglethorpe, He promis'd him all the Assistance in his power, with money to enable him to carry on his Manufactory; and Land in whatever Part of Georgia he thought proper, And agreed immediately to furnish him with Bills, and Cash for two hundred Pounds; Which on Duche's representation, that he could not do with less than two hundred and thirty Pounds; Mr. Oglethorpe Order'd Mr. Causton to let him have two hundred and thirty Pounds and a Lot in Savannah, and order'd Duche to set about his Building, and Manufactory with the utmost Expedition; but the Memorialist sets forth, that the said Sum was paid in Provisions, or Goods, and only four pounds of it in Cash; and that, notwithstanding this, he compleated his Pot works in the year 1738. That in July 1741 he applied to General Oglethorpe to be assisted with Cash to come to England, Who wrote to Mr. William Stephens and Mr. Thomas Jones to advance him fifty pounds, Which they refus'd; But that he still declared his resolution to go to England, Whenever he was able to defray the Expense; And that soon after a Sloop for Bermudas offering, Duche pack'd up several Casks of his Earthen Ware, and put them on board, and followed himself; No person offering to stop, hinder, or molest him; And the said Sloop falling down to Cockspur Island, a few hours after She came to an Anchor there, A Boatfull of armed Men boarded her, commanded by the Keeper of the Loghouse at Savannah, Who immediately laid hold on Duche as his Prisoner, by Virtue of a Warrant from Mr. Henry Parker, and Mr. Charles Watson (a Copy whereof was annex'd to the said Memorial) And he further sets forth, that he was carried to Savanah to Mr. Stephens's House, Who acquainted him, that he had receiv'd information of his Intention to desert the Colony; And that the Magistrates, Who were then present, told him, he must find Bail in four hundred pounds, which he stood indebted to the Trustees, And that otherwise they must commit him to Prison, there to lye, till the Trustees pleasure should be known; And that in February last, he being permitted to go to Frederica, General Oglethorpe allowed him a Passage in a Sloop of his going to Virginia; And that he arrived in London the 26th of last May, And till now has had no Opportunity of presenting the said Memorial.

To this the following Queries were Annex'd.

1st. Whether Persons in Georgia that have receiv'd of the Public Money from the Trustees, or from their Officers there, for enabling them to go on in clearing and cultivating the Lands assign'd them, or for carrying on Manufactories in the Colony, are to be distress'd and imprison'd for the money so receiv'd and applied?

2ly. If, after the aforesaid Persons have with much time and labour, together with the said Money spent in cultivating their Lands, or in setting up Manufactories, and Buildings thereto; And after repeated Trials, find no Profit thereby, but instead thereof an Apparent Loss; and shall thereupon determine to leave the Colony, notwithstanding they are forced to leave all their Lands and Building behind them, they being restrain'd by the Tenures from selling the same; whether in that Case the Magistrates or Other Officers appointed by the Trustees are to arrest and prevent their going out of the Colony?

3ly. Can the Trustees arrest or cause to be arrested and imprison'd any Person or Persons for the Publick Money they have receiv'd of them, or of their officers or Agents; And at the same time refuse to accept of, or allow them to sell their Lands, and Improvements, the only Means they may have to repay them?

4thly. Suppose Persons were allowed to sell their Lands and Improvements, and should not be able to find Purchasers, that would give them one fourth of the publick Money, which they may have expended thereon, or could even get no One to buy them at any Price, therefore obliged to quit their Lands and Improvements to the Trustees; Could the Trustees in that Case arrest and oblige such Persons to give Security for the payment of the Money, they had expended on the aforesaid Lands?

Which Queries the aforesaid Duche desired to be laid before the Trustees, in hopes that they will favour him with an Answer to Each of them in writing.

Whereupon the Trustees order'd the said Duche to be called in; But he not Attending, Resolved

That a Copy of the said Memorial be sent to the President and Assistants in Georgia to examine into and send their Answer to the Trustees; And that the Secretary do acquaint Mr. Duche therewith, And that a strict Inquiry will be made into the Conduct of the Magistrates in Georgia, and the several Matters complain'd of by him; And likewise into Accounts between him and the Trustees, in order to do justice in the best manner they are able; And that he will receive a further Answer, as soon as it has been duly consider'd.



### Appendix 3.

Duche's Memorial to the South Carolina Upper House of Assembly (1746):

This memorial, taken from the Journal of the Upper House, 1746, page 32, was first presented to the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly; however, only the presentation was recorded, not the memorial itself. On 13 March 1746, the memorial was sent from the Commons House to the Upper House, along with other petitions, letters, and a message from James Glen, the governor of South Carolina.

Read the following Memorial of Andrew Duche, setting forth That the said Duche, did in the month of December last enter this Province by way of Virginia, having him with him a considerable quantity of goods, in order to carry on a trade among the Indians, within and under the government and protection of this Province.

That after disposing of those goods to the Cherokee Indians he proceeded from thence hither, by the land passage, which he has travelled thro' at different times within these three years past.

That he humbly apprehends it is practicable to make a very good and convenient road from Charles Town to the Town of Keewohee [Keowee] in the Cherokee Nation, (which is distant about 300 Miles) for land carriages of any kind, which he conceives may be very beneficial to the trading of this Province carry'd on in those parts, by establishing a more safe easy and speedy & less expensive Conveyance of Goods to the Indians than can possibly be maintained & carry'd on by a mixt transportation by land & water.

The many advantages that may otherways be consequential to the making such a Road in a young & unsettled Colony, the Memorialist leaves to the Consideration of your Excellcy. & Honours, requesting only leave to observe that the heaviest baggage or cannon will be able to pass forward with ease as far as Keewohee, in case any future mischievous attempts of the Indians should render it necessary to use or have them there.

The Memorialist believes that such a Road might be carry'd on and compleated for the sum of 500 Sterling or thereabouts, & if approved of would undertake to carry such a matter into execution for that Sum.

He therefore humbly submits the whole to the Consideration of His Excellcy and their Honours &c. Signed

Andrew Duche

The above Memorial being read & considered the same was sent down to the Commons House of Assembly recommended.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In 1947 an article was published on a porcelain bowl which was thought to have been made by Andrew Duche, but has now been proven to be Chinese. Ruth M. Gilmer, "Andrew Duche and his China," *Apollo* 64 (May 1947): 128-30; Ruth M. Gilmer, "Andrew Duche: America's First China Maker," *Apollo* 68 (Sept. 1948): 63-5. See also William T. Anderson, "Cherokee Clay, from Duche to Wedgwood: The Journal of Thomas Griffiths, 1767-1768," *North Carolina Review*, 63 (Oct. 1986): 479, 481.
2. F. H. Garner and Michael Archer, *English Delftware* (London, 1948), plate 8A, 24.
3. Norman F. Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown: A Preliminary Report," *Ceramics in America* (Charlottesville, Va., 1973), 305-6; Norman F. Barka, Edward Ayres, and Christine Sheridan, "The 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown: A Study of a Colonial Pottery Factory," 3 vols. (Denver, Col., 1984), 1:208, 3:468.
4. This information is from the Duche's seventeenth century French family Bible (Geneva Version) which is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia. The Bible is two volumes, and was published in 1669 by Elsevier of Amsterdam. Duche's history comes mainly from the second, inscribed by the Reverend Jacob Duche (1737-98), Andrew Duche's nephew. The Bible itself, with Jacob's name on the title page, was found in a London bookstore in 1966 and bought by the Library Company of Philadelphia.
5. Duche family Bible; Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (Baltimore, 1973), 1: 294-5; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1857), 1:264.
6. Duche Family Bible; Robert Giannini III, "Anthony Duche, Sr., Potter and Merchant of Philadelphia," *Antiques* 119 (Jan. 1981): 198-203; Robert Giannini III, letter to author, 5 Apr. 1983.
7. Salt-glazed stoneware is the only type of pottery Anthony is known to have produced. In his inventory of 9 June 1762, the appraisers, James Claypoole and Benjamin Randolph, both prominent Philadelphia cabinetmakers, listed "Burnt Earthen ware glas'd & unglas'd . . . Unburn't Earthen ware." These listings suggest lead-glazed earthenware; however, as the two appraisers were cabinetmakers, the exact meaning of "Earthen ware" and "glas'd and unglas'd" is questionable. Potters themselves also called their stoneware earthenware. Glas'd and unglas'd might even have referred to decorated and undecorated pieces. Giannini, "Anthony Duche, Sr.," 199, 202.
8. Advertisements in newspapers of the period can attest to this. For example, the following notice appeared in a 1753 Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper: "BREMAR & NEYLE, have just imported in the Alexander, Capt. Curling from London, and the latest Vessels from Bristol . . . a large assortment of Stone ware, blue and white, and brown." Ivor Noel Hume, "Rhenish Gray Stonewares in Colonial America," *Antiques*, 92 (Sept. 1967): 349-53; Charleston, *South Carolina Gazette*, 29 Oct. 1753 (hereafter cited as *SCG*).
9. Giannini, "Anthony Duche, Sr.," 198-203; Benno M. Forman, "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London, 1511-1625," *Furniture History*, 7 (1971): 94; Adrian Henstock, "Rhenish Stoneware in Late Elizabethan England," *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1975): 219-24; Silvia Pryor and Kevin Blockley, "A 17th-century Kiln Site at Woolwich," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 12 (1978): 30-85; Gisela Reineking-von Block, "Steinzeug," *Katalog De Kunst-gewerbe Museums Köln* 4 (1971): 44-9; Adrian Oswald, *English Brown Stoneware, 1670-1900* (London, 1982), 16, 18, 30, 88; Ivor Noel Hume *Early English Delftware from London and Virginia* (Williamsburg: 1977), 2-12; Frank Britton, *London Delftware*, (London: 1987), 8-24; Rhoda Edwards, "London Potters circa 1570-1710," *Journal of Ceramic History*, 6 (1974).

10. Two of these examples, including that in fig. 4, were excavated in Philadelphia. A third sherd (fig. 6) bearing this type of Anthony's mark was excavated in 1957 by Stanley South at Brunswick Town, North Carolina, from a midden deposit beneath the kitchen of Judge Maurice Moore. It is a Germanic form rarely encountered on colonial kiln sites. Another example of this form was excavated at Bethabara, North Carolina. See also Stanley South, "The Ceramic Forms of the Potter Gottfried Aust at Bethabara, North Carolina, 1755 to 1771," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1965-1966*, 1: 33-52. A German counterpart of the form is shown in Die Keramik Historisches Museum Schwerin, *Bauernkultur in Mecklenburg III*, (Germany, 1974), pl. 49. The mark on the hollow handle is on the base at the point of attachment to the bowl. Stanley South, letter to author, 28 Aug 1978; Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, (New York, 1970), 279.
11. James went to work for a potter, Isaac Parker, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in July 1742, but James's lack of knowledge concerning the properties of New England clay forced Parker to ask the Massachusetts General Court for financial aid to start a stoneware pottery. After Parker's death in 1742, not long after the Massachusetts General Court had resolved to lend him £175, James worked for Parker's wife Grace, and, later, in partnership with her and Thomas Symms. He returned to Philadelphia some time in 1746, probably to work with his father, and died in 1750. Duche family Bible; Lura Woodside Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 35-8, 245.
12. This may have been the notice: "LATELY imported from ENGLAND, a good new STILL, containing about 45 Gallons, with a worm & cedar Tub, very fit for Farmers use, to be sold reasonable. Enquire at the New Printing Office, near the Market." It cannot be positively identified as that charged to Andrew; the advertiser's name was not published, but it is the only one published that day that ran three times. Benjamin Franklin Ledger A & B, 1730-40, Benjamin Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
13. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 8th ser. (Philadelphia, 1765), 3: 2047-9.
14. George E. McCracken, *The Welcome Claimants, Proved, Disproved and Doubtful with an Account of Some of their Descendants* (Baltimore, 1970), 172.
15. Minute Book 1, 20 Jan. 1733, Library Company of Philadelphia, 20, courtesy of James Green, Curator of Printed Books, Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
16. Purry, also known as Jean Pierre Purry of Neufchatel, Switzerland, eventually arranged for approximately 800 Swiss Protestants to settle on about 35 thousand acres of land on "Yamassee Bluff" approximately 26 miles up the Savannah River from Savannah from 1735 to 1739, founding the South Carolina township of Purrysburgh. Purry's South Carolina promotion was paralleled by that generated by James Edward Oglethorpe for Georgia. Robert L. Meriweather, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1940), 34-41; [Jean Pierre Purry], "Proposals by Mr. Peter Purry of Newfchatel. . . . Also a Description of the Province of South Carolina . . . September 1731," *Gentleman's Magazine*, (Aug. 1732): 886, 894-6, (Sept. 1732): 969-70, (Oct. 1732): 1017-18, courtesy of Mary Anne Hines, Chief of Reference, Library Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; *Historical Collections of South Carolina*... (New York, 1836), 2: 122-3; Rodney M. Baine, "James Oglethorpe and the Early Promotional Literature for Georgia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 45, no. 1 (Jan. 1988): 100-106.
17. Dr. Converse Clouse, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, letter to the author, 28 Sept. 1983.
18. A typical example is a 9 November 1734 advertisement that appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*: "Just imported in the Mary Ann, Thomas Shubrick Commander, and to be sold by Capt. Robert Austin in the Stone House on the Bay . . . sundry sorts of Cutlary ware, and fine China Wares, viz. Plates, Bowls, and Tea Cups and Sawcers."

19. For example, the shipping returns for South Carolina on 21 August 1734 listed "brigt. Mary & Mercy of Philadelphia from Philadelphia . . . Parcel Earthenware here [Philadelphia] Made" along with other Philadelphia exports. South Carolina Shipping Returns, 1716-35, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, America and West Indies, No. 508, 21 Aug. 1734.
20. Giannini, "Anthony Duche, Sr.," 202-3; Will Book M, Philadelphia City Hall Annex, 309.
21. South Carolina Board of Trade records, vol. 6, British Public Records Office, E. 42.
22. The Lords for Trade and Plantations required such descriptions and additions so that they would remain aware of any trades and manufactures that might affect those of Great Britain. A. S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of S.C.*, 8 November 1734-7 June 1735, (Columbia, S. C., 1947), 72; these journals hereafter cited as *JCHA*).
23. John Bivins, Jr., *The Moravian Potters of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1972), 16, 18-19.
24. For example, his family's 1731 petition to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives was for "The Art of making Stone-ware." *Votes and Proceedings*, 2047.
25. Evidence of the clay available to Charleston area settlers appeared in an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 31 August 1734: "To Be Sold A Plantation very pleasantly situated on Ashley River, within a mile of Dorchester. . . . It has a very good Landing and is very convenient for keeping Store & making Bricks, there being very good Clay close to the landing. . . . Daniel Pepper." See also Earle Sloan, *A Preliminary Report on the Clays of South Carolina*, Survey 4, no. 11 (Columbia, 1904), 56-9.
26. Elliott Street was cut between lots 37, 10 and 26, 27, 11, 12, 13 of the Charleston "Grand Model" of 1725. When Yeomans died in 1752, his estate was put up for sale, including lot 278 on Meeting Street, 370 acres of land in Berkeley County, 250 acres in St. James, and 100 in Mount Alexander. There was no mention of any property on Elliott Street, although research by the Charleston Museum has produced two deeds dated 23 August and 24 August 1732 which mentioned lots owned by Yeomans on Middle Street and a 28 February 1755 lease of part of lot 37 bounding north on Elliott Street, from William's widow to merchants Glen and Cooper. Charleston Register Mesne Conveyances Book K, 146-51, courtesy Jeanne A. Calhoun, Research Historian, Charleston Museum; SCG, 30 Oct. 1752; Ruth W. Cupp, Charleston, letter to author, 21 Nov. 1984.
27. Allen Candler, ed., *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, 1st. ed., (Atlanta, 1904), 1: 427-9; hereafter cited as *CRGI*.
28. E. D. Wells, "Duche, the Potter," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 41 (1957): 384; the quarterly hereafter cited as *GHQ*.
29. *CRGI*, 1: 427.
30. In fact, the Indian trade at Fort Moore grew to the point that the 1731 South Carolina Indian Trade act limited traders by license and license fee to trading in only one Indian town and funded the position of a commissioner under the governor who would visit the Indian Nations and Fort Moore as a mediator to listen to complaints involving both traders and Indians. After a number of killings in 1734, the 1731 license fee was raised and a duty was imposed on each skin the trader acquired. Robert G. McPherson, ed., *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont, 1732-1738* (Athens, Ga., 1961), 194; Meriweather, *Expansion of S. C.*, 10-11, 185-6.
31. Graham Hood, "The Career of Andrew Duche," *The Art Quarterly* 31 (1968): 169, 192; Meriweather, *Expansion of S. C.*, 66-72; Walter L. Robbins, ed., "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," *South Carolina Historical Magazine (SCHM)* 71 (1970): 149-50; Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The History of Georgia*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1883), 1: 217-18. For a general background on the South Carolina and Georgia Indian trade see Werner M. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1956), 108-36; David K. Eliades, "The Indian Policy of Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1763," (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1981); Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1963), 310-25.

32. Support for this hypothesis comes from a petition of 1743 from inhabitants of New Windsor. Amidst complaints against Captain Daniel Pepper, New Windsor's magistrate and commander of Fort Moore, was the statement that James Beamer, a member of the Cherokee Company, was trading in New Windsor prior to 1743. In 1748, Duche was trading with Beamer in the Cherokee Nation, and the two might have had connections reaching as far back as Duche's sojourn in New Windsor. *Journal of the Minutes of the Council From the 17th Day of Dec. 1743 to the 8th of Dec. 1744*, South Carolina Archives, Columbia, 105-8.
33. Robert Preston Brooks, *History of Georgia* 1913, (reprint ed., Spartanburg, S. C., 1972), 42; Jones, *History of Georgia*, 1: 110.
34. Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, 2 vols. (Athens, Ga., 1983), 2: 761-3.
35. Meriweather, *Expansion of S. C.*, 186-7; Coleman and Gurr, *Georgia Biography*, 2: 590-92.
36. Patrick Tailfer et al, "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America. . . . 1741," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Boston, 1842), 2: 260.
37. *JCHA*, 1736-39, 91.
38. *CRGI*, 1: 427-9.
39. *JCHA*, 1734-5, 17.
40. Frances Howell Beckemeyer, comp., *Abstracts of Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book C-1, 1750-1760* (Atlanta, 1975), 91; E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, eds., *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens, 1949), 11.
41. Stephens was born in Isle of Wight, England, in 1672, and he died in Savannah in 1753. He was forced through bankruptcy to sell his family's estates in 1728 and worked as a timber agent in Scotland. In 1736 he was sent to South Carolina to survey a grant on the Savannah River, and he became the Georgia trustees' secretary in 1737. He held that post until he was appointed president of Savannah County in 1741, serving in that capacity from 1742-50, then retiring to his Savannah plantation where he lived until his death. Coleman and Gurr, *Georgia Biography*, 2: 928-30; Carole Watterson Troxler, "William Stephens and the Georgia Malcontents": Conciliation, Conflict, and Capitulation," *GHQ* 67 (1983): 1-34.
42. *CRGI*, 1: 427, 21: 506; Mills Lane, *General Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2 vols. (Savannah, 1975), 1: 283-7, 298-301, 2: 347; R. W. Willingham, former curator, De Renne Rare Book Room, University of Georgia Libraries, University of Georgia, Athens, letter to author, 4 Sept. 1984.
43. However, a brick kiln was mentioned in a list of other manufactories, indicating that clay possibly suitable for making at least a lesser quality earthenware was being used in Georgia then. *CRGI*, 3: 146.
44. Kenneth Coleman and Milton Ready, eds., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 2nd ed., (Athens, Ga., 1982), 20: 163-5, hereafter cited as *CRG2*.
45. [Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck], "An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck . . . 1734," *Our First Visit in America, Early Reports from the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1740* (Savannah, 1974), 52.
46. The schoolhouse was built in September 1736, but Dober did not produce any pottery "for lack of proper clay, but through General Oglethorpe's kindness, a good deal of carpenter's work was given to them." Dober (1708-96) was among the second group of Moravians that had arrived in Savannah with Oglethorpe. The 1747 list of Georgia settlers included these entries: "364. Dober, Jo. Andr.- Potter; embark'd 14 October 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6. Moravian School Master at Highgate in Savannah Province. Quitted 1740. 365., Ann Cath., w. Do. Quitted 1740." According to Adelaide Fries, Dober's attempts to make pottery were unsuccessful, and he and his wife left Savannah in December 1737 with Oglethorpe on a ship bound for London. Dober's memoir verifies his 1737 depar-



ture; the 1747 list was incorrect. Dober returned to Germany in 1738 and eventually taught Gottfried Aust the trade. There are many aspects of this story that are left unexplained; for example, did the Trustees pay for Dober's passage because they expected him to establish a pottery? Did they know, then, that kaolin was available? Did Dober actually try to make pottery only to discover that the clay was useless or did he just deem the clay as unfavorable? It is hoped that future translations of the eighteenth-century documents that concern the Moravians' attempt to settle in Savannah will answer some of these questions. John Burrison, *Brothers in Clay* (Athens, Ga., 1983), 108; Bivins, *Moravian Pottery*, 49; Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia* (New York, 1976), 25; Joseph Caldwell and Catherine McCann, *Irene Mound Site*, (Athens, Ga., 1941), 77-8; Lane, *Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 240; Adelaide Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh, 1905), 91-2, 131, 155, 159; Coulter and Saye, *Early Settlers*, ix, xiii, 13; Thomas J. Hauptert, Archivist, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, conversation with author, 10 April 1991.

47. *CRGI*, 1: 427-9; for information on solo bills see William Estill Heath, "The Early Colonial Money System of Georgia," *GHQ*, 19: 145-60.
48. Coulter and Saye, *Settlers of Georgia*, 72.
49. *CRGI*, 8: 713-14.
50. Fig. 12 was constructed by the author using Coulter and Saye, *Settlers of Georgia*; Beckemeyer, *Conveyance Book C-1*: "A Plan of the Town of Savannah as began and intended to be carried on in Georgia," unsigned, probably by a Moravian cartographer, c. 1740, courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; John Gerar William De Brahm's 1758 plan of Savannah in the collection of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and "Plan of the City of Savannah in Chatham County, State of Georgia," 1813, in hopes of recreating the lost plan of Savannah accompanying the Savannah deed of 7 July 1733 cited in Jones, *History of Georgia*, 1: 155-161, which also includes a list of the garden and farm lots and their assignees in 1733. The c. 1740 map and the 1758 plan were used as references for interpreting the locations of the earliest Savannah city lots shown on the 1813 plan. The conveyance book, which identified lots in their respective wards and tythings, was searched for names that corresponded with those in Coulter and Saye's list. After about ten names and lots were matched, a location pattern emerged for lots numbered before 1742. A description of Savannah and her environs made about 1757 was in John Gerar William De Brahm's 1751-1777 report. John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America, A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), 187, 192.
51. *CRGI*, 3: 167, 170.
52. It is known that Causton used such methods; for example, in a letter to the Trustees, John Martin Bolzius of the Salzburger emigrants, of Ebenezer, Georgia, wrote: "Mr. Causton had pay'd our Salary almost by Goods & Provisions of the Store." Coleman and Gurr, *Georgia Biography*, 1: 181-2; Ann Elizabeth O'Quinn, "Thomas Causton's Career in Georgia," (M. A. thesis, University of Georgia, Athens, 1961), 37; *CRGI*, 21: 495.
53. Bolzius wrote: "Quite a long time ago he served as an apprentice with a potter in Savannah but had run away from him too, and this was also his mother's fault." George F. Jones, ed., *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America*. Edited by Samuel Urlsperger, 8 vols. (Athens, Ga, 1968-), 5: 118-19, 8: 179.
54. *SCG*, 13 Mar. 1746; "Old and New Ebenezer," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, Ga., 1878), 4: 19; Rev. P.A. Strobel, *The Salzburgers and Their Descendants*, 1859 (reprint ed., Easley, S. C., 1953), 44-86; Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 1: xii-xiv.
55. *CRGI*, 22: 168-9.
56. This discovery by the alchemist Johann Friedrich Bottger enabled Augustus Strong, the Elector of Saxony, to start the Dresden factory, which was followed by the Meissen factory in 1710. Bottger was the director of the Meissen factory. Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie* (London, 1961), 39; William Bowyer Honey, *European Ceramic Art: A Dictionary of Factories, Artists, Technical Terms, Et Cetera* (London, 1952), 85.

57. In an editorial in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 5 March 1744 Peter Timothy, the newspaper's publisher, quoted a segment from DuHalde's publication. DuHalde's history was also mentioned in a 10 August 1752 *South Carolina Gazette* advertisement by Charles Woodmanson, a Charleston bookseller. Three Charleston area inventories dated 4 April 1743, 11 July 1760, and 5 August 1767, listed a history of China as part of extensive libraries; however, no author's name was given on any of these. In a 1775 inventory, Duhalde's history of China was listed specifically among the other books and publications; a similar listing appeared in a 1782 appraisal. Walter Edgar, University of South Carolina, letter to author, 12 Sept. 1984; Charleston County Wills, Etc., 99A (1774-78): 77-84; Inventories and Sales, 100 (1776-84): 443.
58. Jean Baptiste DuHalde, *The General History of China*. . . , 4 vol. (London, 1736), 1: 339.
59. Llewellynn Jewitt, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (London, 1883), 84-5.
60. Garden to Baker, 14 Mar. 1756, Baker Correspondence, 6: 226-7, John Rylands University Library, Manchester, England,
61. Garden to Baker, 10 May 1759, Baker Correspondence, Ms. 19, 7: 117-18; Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1969), 94.
62. Although Savannah Bluff has not been located on a contemporary map, it is probable that this is where the Chickasaw village of New Savannah was located, near the fall line below the Georgia side of the New Windsor area. New Savannah can be seen on Henry Mouzon, "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina," London, 1775. James Edward Smith, *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and Other Naturalists*, 1821 (reprint ed., New York, 1978), 443, 448; Edward J. Cashin, *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta, Ga., 1980), 10-11.
63. The 1904 survey stated: "The Savannah river Area affords one of the most remarkable exposures of sedimentary kaolin in the United States. . . . From Hamburg to Aiken we observe a zone of these clays extending fourteen miles in length by five miles in width. . . . These beds of kaolin vary from five to twenty-five feet in thickness. . . . It probably represents the largest body of clay closely approximating kaolinite that is found in the United States." Also, potters in the Edgefield area used kaolin in their nineteenth century pottery. There are other South Carolina records pertaining to "porcelain clay" and its exportation from Charleston. These are discussed briefly in the next article. Sloan, *Clays of South Carolina*, 48-50; *Early Decorated Stoneware of the Edgefield District, South Carolina* (Greenville, S. C., 1976).
64. Stephens sent his journals to the trustees at undetermined intervals, and the Earl of Egmont, a diligent journalist himself, summarized Stephens's accounts of the happenings in Savannah and its environs. McPherson, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, 366-7.
65. *CRGI*, 4 (supplement): 159.
66. *CRGI*, 4: 253.
67. Coulter and Saye, *Early Settlers of Georgia*, 47; Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 6, App. 4; "A List of the Inhabitants of Ye Town of Savanna June 1743," Samuel Ward's Autobiography, 1718-75, Norfolk Record Office, England.
68. Lane, *Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2: 356; *CRGI*, 5: 71.
69. On 20 June 1739, the trustees replied to the letter, calling the December complainants crafty men and stating that allowing slaves in Georgia "would destroy all Industry among the White Inhabitants; and that by giving them a Power to alien their Lands, the Colony would soon be too like its Neighbours, void of White Inhabitants, filled with Blacks and reduced to the precarious Property of a Few, equally exposed to domestick Treachery, and foreign Invasion." *CRGI*, 3: 423-6, 431-2.
70. *CRGI*, 4: 253-4.
71. *CRGI*, 5: 139-40.
72. *CRGI*, 22: 372-3.

73. This discovery of lime was important for a budding community. In the Savannah area and at Fort Frederica, a form of concrete called tabby (tappy), a mixture of shells, lime, and sand was used in the earlier constructions. It also may have been used by the Spanish in St. Augustine, and it has been found in coastal South Carolina architecture. Jones, *Saltburger Emigrants*, 6: 15.
74. As early as 1735, the colonial records of Georgia had documented the existence of a Pipemaker's Bluff: "The Indians are at Pipemakers Bluff, and have built a very pretty Town, being joyined by the Savannah Indians." Its name implies that clay pipes were made in that area, either by Indians or colonists. *CRG2*, 20: 306.
75. David Hurst Thomas et al., "The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island, 1. A Natural and Cultural History," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (Washington, D. C.), 55, pt. 2: 161-72; Coleman, *Colonial Georgia*, 50; Nicholas Honerkamp, "The Material Culture of Fort Frederica-The Thomas Hird Lot," (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1975), 40-42; Honerkamp, Nicholas, "Frontier Process in Eighteenth Century Colonial Georgia: An Archaeological Approach," (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1980), 45-6.
76. Honerkamp, "Fort Frederica," 49-53; "Frontier Process," 47-9.
77. Honerkamp, "Fort Frederica," 53-62; "Frontier Process," 49-52, 59-60; Coleman, *Colonial Georgia*, 63, 65-72; Coulter and Saye, *Settlers of Georgia*, 23; *CRG1*, 4 (supp.): 99; Nicholas Honerkamp, *Colonial Life on the Georgia Coast*, (Brunswick, Ga., 1977), 3-4.
78. The pipestems were analyzed using the Binford dating technique, which resulted in a date of 1741.7 that fits the median historic date of 1742. The ceramics excavated at the site, when applied to South's mean ceramic date formula, determine an occupation period of 1738.8, an acceptable variable when compared with the two dates given in the text. Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York, 1977), 207-21.
79. Honerkamp's attempts at a singular nomenclature demonstrate the difficulty in categorizing the stoneware group: "green salt glazed stoneware," "alkaline glazed stoneware," and "Crouchware." Honerkamp, "Fort Frederica," 103-5, 136; "Frontier Process," 90, 247; Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1970); Honerkamp, *Colonial Life*, 11-12. For a history of the archaeology at Frederica see Kathleen A. Deagn, "Thirty Years of Archaeology at Frederica, Georgia, 1945-1975, An Archaeological Assessment," manuscript, (Tallahassee, Fla., 1975).
80. Honerkamp, "Fort Frederica," 104, "Frontier Process," 90.
81. Giannini, "Anthony Duche," 199; Robert Giannini, letter to author, 24 Dec. 1984.
82. Robert Giannini, letter to author, 24 Dec. 1984.
83. *CRG1*, 5: 141-2.
84. *CRG1*, 2: 289; 5: 196-7.
85. *CRG2*, 30 (unpub. ms.): 145-6.
86. Elizabeth Adams and David Redstone, *Bow Porcelain* (London, 1981), 97-8; Dionysius Lardner, *The Manufacture of Porcelain and Glass...* (Park Ridge, N. J., 1972), 84; Arnold R. Mountford, *Illustrated Guide to Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware* (New York, 1971), 48-9; Bernard Watney, *English Blue and White Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1964), 6-9.
87. In Bristol, England, the hard-paste porcelain factory experimented with Richard Champion's 1775 porcelain patent which included "Lead and Tin ashes" in the glaze formula. Other examples of tin and glaze being used in porcelain mixtures were found in the numerous formulas of William Ellis Tucker (1800-1832) and Thomas Tucker (1812-90) Day and Receipt and Formula and Price books surviving from the Philadelphia Tucker porcelain manufactory (1826-38). Honey, *European Ceramic Art*, 122-125; Hugh Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol...* (London, 1873), 391-2; Watney, *English Blue*, 125; William Ellis Tucker Day Book (M-471), 1, 2, 9, 10, 12; Thomas Tucker Day and Receipt Book (M-742), 2, 3, 9, 14; Thomas Tucker Formula and Price Book (M-741), 15, 18, 24, 25,

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pennsylvania, courtesy of Mr. Philip Curtis, former Curator of Glass and Ceramics, the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, Delaware.

88. *CRGI*, 4: 315, 353.
89. The servants most likely were Christopher and William Shantz. "Letters from General Oglethorpe," *Collections of Ga. Hist. Society*, 3 (1873): 101-2.
90. Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 7: 28.
91. Eventually, iron stoves were imported to the colonies. For example, in Charleston in 1772, Paul Smiser advertised that among the "sundry HOUSEHOLD-FURNITURE, consisting of Bedding, Chairs, Tables, Looking-Glasses, etc., etc." he was selling at his house, he also hoped to sell "A complete GERMAN [iron] STOVE." *SCG*, 17 Dec. 1772, supplement; George Fenwick Jones, University of Maryland, letter to author, 27 Oct. 1984.
92. *CRGI*, 5: 341.
93. Coulter and Saye, *Settlers of Georgia*, 72, 76, 458; *CRGI*, 4: 603-4.
94. *CRGI*, 22, pt. 2, 400, 433.
95. Lane, *Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2: 473.
96. Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1976), 118, 170-71; *CRGI*, 4: 111-12, 5: 398-399, 413, 22, pt. 2, 428-9.
97. "A State of the Province of Georgia, attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740," *Collections of Ga. Hist. Society*, 2 (1842): 76; *The Clamorous Malcontents* (Savannah, Ga., 1973), 10; *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 25-6, 5: 406-7.
98. *CRGI*, 22 (pt. 2): 443.
99. Duche claimed he could support the assertion that nine out of ten of the lands in Georgia were barren, and he also boldly stated that "whatever the Trustees had done for any person in this Colony, could not be looked upon as a favour, it being their Duty to do it: & as to himself in particular, tho' he had received sums of Money from the General or Trustees, he did not think himself in any way obliged to them, it being the Nations Money, & they Obligated by their Duty to encourage Manufactures." *CRGI*, 22 (pt. 2): 449-51; *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 38-9.
100. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 46.
101. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 47, 22, pt. 2, 462-3.
102. Although Duche had surrendered his position as constable, he must have still retained some sort of authority, for on 22 April 1741, he and Jacob Matthews entered into a "Recognizance" with William Francis, who had gotten a servant girl pregnant, indemnifying the trustees from any charges that may have arisen from the girl's pregnancy. The recognizance was brought about by Thomas Jones, whose life Matthews and Duche threatened later that evening. Of interest is the fact that on 15 January 1741, Matthews, Duche, and two other friends had witnessed a land grant in which Francis acquired Savannah lot #3 from a mariner for £10.10. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 66, 68-70, 129, 5: 420; Beckemeyer, *Conveyance Book C-1*, 17.
103. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 153-4, 5: 510.
104. Egmont noted later that "Duche the Potter, had desired a fresh note of parcells of China ware Lady Egmont had wrote for, having as he says brought his ware to perfection, and designing to make the things desired by her." *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 157-8, 5: 511.
105. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 168-9.
106. *Ibid*, 171-2.
107. *Ibid*, 193, 199-200, 23: 63-4.
108. *Ibid*, 200-201, 204.
109. *Ibid*, 205-6, 23: 76-77.
110. *CRGI*, 23: 80.
111. *CRGI*, 3: 192.

112. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 214, 23: 88.

113. *Ibid.*, 220-21.

114. He was described as "a potter by trade and has so far supplied the country and the neighborhood with earthenware and, because he generally has great skill and understanding, he has discovered the secret of making porcelain that is just as good as that made in China, but for this he needs some advances from the Lord Trustees. He was born in Pennsylvania and still has a father and brothers and sisters there, but he finds so many advantages in the climate of our colony that he does not wish to go home. He is assured that, if the Lord Trustees would concede one great point, hundreds of people would move here from New York and Pennsylvania, where they must work very hard and can scarcely earn their livelihood. There are far too many people there already, and there are already complaints." *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 229; Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 8: 375-6.

115. *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 242.

116. Stephens's journal entries about the malcontents' activities from 9-28 October 1741 are somewhat troubled, for his son, Thomas, was one of the chief leaders of the band of mutineers. During this period, the malcontents, who had prepared a paper on 7 October 1741, met frequently in an attempt to encourage landholders to sign it. The paper was the usual redress of grievances contained in preceding "divers remonstrances, representations, and petitions." Thomas Stephens was elected their agent for "representing, transacting and soliciting in Great Britain those affairs of so great importance." By 28 October, the paper was signed by 123 landholders and 18 absentees who sent letters saying that they approved. Thomas Stephens left that day on a boat to Charleston, and he and his father "parted with wet eyes." *CRGI*, 4 (supp.): 258-61, 263, 265-6, 274-5, 5: 560, 23: 125-30, "A Brief Account of the Causes That Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America; Attested Upon Oath. . . ." *Collections of Ga. Hist. Society* 2 (1842): 153-60.

117. Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 8: 451-3.

118. Bolzius wrote about this stove in detail: "It is the kind that is usually called draft-ovens in Germany. It is heated in the room and the smoke is led out through a pipe so that one needs no separate chimney or flue. The tiles are hollow and a little concave so that the cement, which is pressed in very tightly, does not fall out. In this manner the sides of the oven are made thick and durable. He has fired several hundred of these tiles at my request, so that several people can be supplied with them, since only sixty are needed for each oven. . . . Everyone can make the stones [bricks] required for the base of the oven, since they have only to be baked in the sun because no moisture gets to them." The descriptive nature of Bolzius's report suggests that it served as a model for other Salzburger. Apparently, installing the stove was out of the bounds of the normal demands made on Duche as the local potter. Similar information on the making of tile stoves can be found in the records of the piedmont North Carolina Moravians. During November 1756, the pastor recorded, "Br. Aust burned stove tiles, and when they were ready he set up stoves in the *Gemein Haus* and the Brothers House, probably the first in Carolina." In 1758, the Moravians decided that "For Jacob Loesch's stove a stone pavement [base] should be made." This reference to a stone pavement probably was the same as stones required for the base of the oven mentioned by Bolzius. Surviving examples of the Moravian stoves can be found in the collection of Historic Old Salem today. Excavations at other North Carolina and Virginia sites have resulted in the recovery of earthenware tile stoves, but little documentation about how they were made; this makes Bolzius's account all the more important. Jones, *The Salzburger Emigrants*, 8: 461-2; Adelaide L. Fries, *Memorabilia of Outward Affairs*, "Records of the Moravians in North Carolina," 1 (Raleigh, N. C., 1922; *Aufser Collegium*, 15 November 1785, Historic Old Salem collection; Urlsperger, *Ausfuhrliche Nachricht*, 1148-9; Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, 177-83; Barka Ayers, Sheridan, "The 'Poor Potter,'" 2: 184-6, 3: 497-8; L. McKay Whatley, "The Mount Shepherd Pottery: Correlating Archaeology and History," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 6, no. 1 (May 1980), 21-57.



119. Jones, *Salzburger Emigrants*, 8: 461-2.
120. E. Merton Coulter, ed., *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741-1743* (Athens, 1958), 9.
121. *Ibid.*, 10.
122. *CRGI*, 5: 567; Hugh Tait, "The Bow Factory Under Alderman Arnold and Thomas Frye (1747-1759)," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions (ECC)*, 5, pt. 4 (1963): 201.
123. This petition demonstrates the type of wood he was using to fire his kiln and the fact that he knew that ash was the best type of fuel for his purpose. In Gottlieb Reuter's 1760 manuscript "Flora and Fauna of Wachovia," he described ash trees as "easily cut and is the best kind of fuel, wherefore it is preferred by the bakers." *CRGI*, 6: 17, 20; Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem.
124. Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 54-5.
125. Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina- A History* (Millwood, N. Y., 1983), 119; *CRGI*, 5: 631, 654, 655; Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 81, 83, 102, 107, 113-14, Lane, *Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2: 640.
126. The trustees explained their resolution: "It not appearing that the said Persons have ever been industrious in cultivating, or have any View to the Cultivation of the said Lands or any intention of doing so." Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 115; *CRGI*, 1: 404, 5: 664.
127. Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 117.
128. *Ibid.*, 123.
129. The entries from 7 September to 26 October 1742 are missing. Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 135-6.
130. *CRGI*, 5: 657, 6: 53-54; Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-42, 140-42.
131. *Ibid.*, 142.
132. *CRGI*, 1: 428.
133. *Ibid.*, 1: 427-9, 5: 707, 24: 12.
134. Stephens wrote: "We are next to wait what Reception he has met with from the honble. Trustees; how far they'll approve of his past Actions among us, and whether or not he has made the Board: He has given us the Slip by going first to Fredrica, and there I suppose got the General's pass for England; but as he is to take Virginia in his way, I believe he wont presently reach England, if he ever does." *CRGI*, 1: 427-9; Coulter, *Journal*, 1741-43, 220-21.
135. Additions were made to the law on 18 December 1739, but it was repealed by another act in 1744. Nicholas Trott, *The Laws of the Province of South-Carolina* (Charleston, 1736), 1: 68-72; Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, comps., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1737), 2: 141-3; 3: 616-21.
136. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia*. . . (New York, 1823), vol. 1.
137. On 1 June 1743, a list of the inhabitants of Savannah was published, giving the number of members of the Duche household as five and further delineating them as "Andw. Duche Potter Wife, Servt., Thos. Upton & Wife." However, it is evident that the list was drawn up some time before it was published. *CRGI*, 1: 428; "Inhabitants of Ye Town of Savanna June 1743," Norfolk, England, Record Office.
138. *CRGI*, 1: 429.
139. Watney, *English Blue*, 14-15; [Hugh Tait], *Bow Porcelain, 1744-1776*, (Aberdeen, 1959), 9-10, 201; Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 22, 80.
140. "A True and Historical Narrative," 163-263.
141. *CRGI*, 2: 289, 5: 196-7.
142. This was not the first time that minerals had been discovered in that area. As early as 1699, James Moore, secretary of the province of South Carolina and deputy to John Colleton

- wrote: "I made a journey in the year 1690 over the Apalathean Mountains in which journey I took up seven sours of ores or Mineral stones . . . In the same journey I was informed that the Spaniards had been actually at work upon mines within twenty miles of me." Also in 1699, Thomas Cutler and his partners, probably Charleston house carpenters Edward Loughton and David Maybank, submitted a memorial to his Majesty's commissioners for Trade and Plantations "concerning the silver mines in Carolina where [they] had been . . . to the Appalatian Mountains (about three or four hundred miles distant from Charles Town). "Records Relating to South Carolina," British Public Records Office, London, 4 (1698-1700): 81, 86; Letter from Edward Randolph to London, 19 June 1699, Proprieties Board of Trade, British Public Records Office, 78-9.
143. *JCHA.*, 14 Sept. 1742-27 Jan. 1744, 470, 473-4; Walter B. Edgar and N. Louis Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 3 vols. (Columbia, S. C., 1977), 2: 576-7; Alan D. Watson, "The South Carolina Silver Mine of 1743: From Trivia to Importance," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 72 (1973): 123.
  144. "Copy's of all the Minutes of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly & Council, relating to the Discovery of a Silver Mine, amongst the Cherokee Indians," Council Journal Extracts, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia (1743): end of reel, n. p.; *JCHA.*, 14 Sept. 1742-27 Jan. 1744, 475-7; Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 441.
  145. They described the area as follows: "All the Lands and Territories lying in the middle Cherokee Nation within a line beginning at a creek called Aquanewarottee down the River Yewface to Custowee, and up the River Tellico by Conostee and little Tellico to the beginning of the long Savannah called Coatee Conahetta and from thence to the Tuskequa." Aquanewarottee may have been Brasstown Creek, which flows north into the Hiwassee River approximately six miles from the Valley River. Two 1761 manuscript maps in the collection of the British Museum illustrate a village or a point below the Cherokee Valley town of Hiwassee and at the mouth of Brasstown Creek as Acquonutiwe. Yewface was the Euphasee, or Hywassee, River; Conostee was a valley town also known as Natalie; Little Tellico and Conahetta also were valley towns. Coatee was the present-day town of Marble, North Carolina, and the Tusequa were the Tusquitta, or Tusquitee, Mountains. Minutes of Council, 214-19; William S. Powell, *The North Carolina Gazetteer* [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1968], 61.
  146. Minutes of Council, 214-19.
  147. Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large*, 3: 525-6.
  148. "A New Map of the Cherokee Nation with the names of Towns & Rivers," DeRenne Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., courtesy of R. W. Willingham; Betty Anderson Smith, "Distribution of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Settlements," *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1979), 46-60. See also Mary U. Rothrock, "Carolina Traders Among the Overhill Cherokees, 1690-1760," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* (Knoxville, 1929), no. 1: 3-18.
  149. In a letter from Governor James Glen to Tacite, Hywassee is referred to as "Enforsee." William L. McDowell, ed., *Documents relating to Indian Affairs, 21 May 1750-7 August 1754* (Columbia, S. C., 1958), 67, 69; George Hunter, "Cherokee Nation and the Traders' Path from Charles Town via Congaree," 1730, Faden Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Christopher French, *Journals*, 3 vols. 1756-64, 1776-78, Library of Congress, Manuscript Collection, 108-25.
  150. Minutes of Council, 311-12; Watson, "Silver Mine of 1743," 126.
  151. Pringle wrote his brother on 20 July 1744: "As for the Silver Mine beleive it is Come to nothing, and am inform'd is like to turn out no better a[t] Last than an Iron Mine & not worth the Charge of Carrying it on." *CRGI*, 1: 440-41; Edgar, *Robert Pringle*, 2: 728.
  152. S.C. Court of Common Pleas Judgment Rolls, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, Box 53, Roll 187A; [Hugh Tait], *Bow Porcelain, 1744-1776*, (Aberdeen, 1959), 9-10; Watney, *English Blue*, 14.

153. Apparently the rush was on to acquire the patent and use the clay. Robert Pringle or his brother Andrew apparently had an interest in clay, for on 5 June 1747 Robert "Ship't on board the Sloop Triton . . . for London 1 Bag, qt abt 20 lb: Dried Orange Skins, 1 Bag qt: pieces of Oar & 1 Bag White Clay No 1: 2: 3: Consign'd to my Brother." The reason for or the results of this shipment are unknown; however, Robert may have been curious about the potential for both the ore and clay. Watney, *English Blue*, 14-15; Tait, "The Bow Factory," 201; Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 22, 80; Edgar, *Robert Pringle*, 1: xviii, 2: 588; Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Journal of Robert Pringle, 1746-1747," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine (SCHGM)* 26 (1925): 102.
154. The *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg recorded the *Hannah's* entries and departures from Virginia to England from 1737-9. Samuel Barnes was master of the ship at that time, but it is not known if he remained so after Arnold became owner of the ship. There were no records of the ship after Arnold's purchase until 1755, when two ships named *Hannah* were mentioned in the *Virginia Gazette*; both had different captains. Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 34, 35; Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780* (Williamsburg, Va., 1950), 1: 499; Lois Oglesby and John Sands, the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia, letter to author, 5 Oct. 1984.
155. Elizabeth City County, Va., Deeds, Wills, Bonds, 1737-71, Virginia State Library, Richmond, 159; Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 34-5.
156. The first publication of this letter was in Owen, *Ceramic Art in Bristol*, 7-8; an attempt to locate an original copy of the letter was not successful. Miss Sarah Levitt, Assistant Curator-Applied Art, City of Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, England, letter to author, 17 May 1985; [Tait], *Bow Porcelain*, 9. For more information on William Cookworthy, see F. Severne MacKenna, *Cookworthy's Plymouth and Bristol Porcelain* (Leigh-on-Sea, England, 1946), 19-27.
157. For example, on 11 August 1758, Alexander Garden wrote John Ellis of London: "Our whole knowledge of these parts [Cherokee and Creek nations] is vague, gathered from such a rude and ignorant set of men as Indian traders. . . . But alas! what can we expect from men of no knowledge in geography, nor any desire to attain further knowledge than the plain path backwards and forwards to Charlestown? As to our ignorance of the general geography of the country, I need only refer you to our late maps, where the southern provinces are laid down either from mere guess and conjecture, or from still a worse guide. . . . Cast your eyes only on the projection of the Cherokee country, which is so laid down that every town of that nation falls either in North Carolina or in Georgia." Sir James Edward Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, 1 (London, 1797): 418, 422-3.
158. This possibility is supported by Robert Dossie's 1758 publication, *Handmaid of the Arts*. In volume 2, he discussed the discovery of kaolin "in some mountains on the back of Carolina in great abundance whither the proprietors of a work near London sent an agent to procure it for them; but he neglecting it for other pursuits, I believe no quantity has hitherto been brought from thence." Watney, *English Blue*, 16; Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 81.
159. Various Quaker records were searched at Guilford College in Greensboro, N. C., and Duche's name did not appear in any but *The Welcome Claimants, Proved, Disproved and Doubtful With an Account of Their Descendants*, which lists his place of baptism as the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. Carole M. Treadway and Treva W. Mathis, Guilford College, North Carolina, letter to author, 17 Oct. 1974; George McCracken, *The Welcome Claimants*, 172.
160. [Tait], *Bow Porcelain*, 9.
161. Watney, *English Blue*, 15-16.
162. Charleston County Miscellaneous Records, 1743-6, 2; Coulter, *Journal*, 1743-45, 58.
163. Coulter, *Journal*, 1743-45, 59.
164. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

165. *CRGI*, 3: 420, 4: 583-4, 608, 4 (supp.), 263-4, 5: 409, 7: 142-3; *CRG2*, 20: 249, 273, 431; Lane, *Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2: 362, 669; Davis, *Fledgling Province*, 65; Coulter and Saye, *Settlers of Georgia*, 15.
166. Colonial Wills, 1733-77, #254, 16 Oct. 1752.
167. Apparently his claim about the length of time he had been working as a potter was more or less correct, for on 19 March 1751, Bolzcius, answering a question concerning craftsmen in Charleston and Savannah said, "saddlemakers and carriage builders, as well as a potter, are lacking [in Charleston]. In Savannah there is a potter and a saddlemaker." *JCHA*, 19: 171; *CRGI*, 7: 142-3; *CRG2*, 27: 81; Klaus G. Loewald, et. al., eds., "Johann Martin Bolzcius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 15 (1958): 246.
168. *CRGI*, 7: 142-3, 13: 474; *Savannah Georgia Gazette*, 25 Oct. 1775.
169. Judgment Rolls, Box 53, #187A.
170. *CRGI*, 24: 341.
171. Journal of the Upper House, 1743-50, Colonial Records of South Carolina, Arts, Unit 3, 32. See also Appendix 3.
172. Spencer had been a clerk before he came to Georgia, and while in Savannah, he served as a magistrate and as one of Stephen's presidential assistants. *CRGI*, 5: 598-9, 25: 106.
173. The Upper House often approved expenditures that were later vetoed or voted against by the Commons House, for the Upper House was all for spending money whereas the Lower House tried to spend as little as possible. *JCHA*, 10 Sept. 1745-17 June 17, 1746, 132-133; Journal of the Upper House, unit 3, 32; Meriweather, *Expansion of S.C.*, 78.
174. Duche may have met Beamer in New Windsor. According to the Captain Pepper trial of 1744, Beamer traded in New Windsor as a member of the "Cherokee Company" some time prior to 1743. If Beamer were trading in New Windsor in 1737, he and Duche were bound to have run into each other, and it is possible that it was Beamer who convinced Duche to take up the Indian trading business. Meriweather, *Expansion of S.C.*, 185-211; *JCHA*, 19 Jan. 1748-29 June 1748, 171; Journal of the Minutes of Council . . . 1743-4, 105-8.
175. Journal of the Upper House, unit 4, 92.
176. Meriweather, *Expansion of S.C.*, 190; *SCG*, 25 July 1748.
177. Miscellaneous Records, 348-9; Hood, "Andrew Duche," 179.
178. Five years later, in 1753, South Carolina's governor James Glen paid a visit to Keowee; the result was the building of Fort Prince George there, which vastly improved safety for Indian traders. Journal of the Upper House, unit 4, 183; Stanley South, *Method and Theory*, 143; Larry E. Ivers, *Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775* (Columbia, S. C.: 1970), 70-72.
179. Watney, *English Blue*, 14.
180. Watney, *English Blue*, 14; Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esq., 1689-1765* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957), 51.
181. Adams and Redstone, *Bow*, 80-81.
182. Hood, "Andrew Duche," 179; Deed Book 15, Norfolk County, Records, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 52a. All court records cited for 1751-69 are Norfolk County unless otherwise noted.
183. Deed Book 15, 52a; Deed Book 16, 25, 125, 128; Hood, "Andrew Duche," 180, 184; Deed Book 17, 6, 32, 42; Mrs. Russell S. Barrett, "Marriage Bonds of Norfolk County," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d. ser., 8, no. 2 (Apr. 1928): 101; Duche family Bible.
184. This lease was a renegotiation of a lease between the two dated 10 April 1754. Duche had been paying £70 per year for property located in Norfolk "bounded by the lot of Capt. John Shripp, [and] the lot belonging to Charles Smith, [and] the river." A William Freeman also was listed with Duche as owners of this property. Another Norfolk store with its waterfront property leased by Duche from John Ellegood, a merchant, was subleased, on

- 21 May 1761, to the Norfolk firm Maxmillien, Calvert, and Paul Loyll, merchants. This property joined additional "Shore fronting" land which Duche was renting to Stephen Tankard. Deed Book 17, 96a; Deed Book 19, 1759-1761, 231.
185. Deed Book 17, 210; Appraisements, No. 1, 1755-83, 22; Court Order Book, 1755-59, 205.
  186. Mrs. Barrett, "Marriage Bonds," 101.
  187. Waff has not been further identified, but he may have been George Watt, a Hampton carpenter of whom nothing is known after 1741. Court Order Book, 1759-1763, 20 Mar. 1760; Appraisements 1, 71.
  188. Another of Duche's lots in Savannah came under question on 3 August 1762. James McHenry, who could not be further identified, petitioned that "a Town Lot in Savannah known by Number one in Towers Tything Decker Ward, said to have been originally allotted one Andrew Duche, and now in the Petitioner's Possession, was become vacant for want of Claim and Title. ... [the petitioner] therefore praying (no Claim being made) that he may be permitted to become Purchaser of the said Town Lot at such Price as should reasonably be fixed." McHenry was granted the lot for £105 sterling. It is not known whether Duche was apprised of this information or not. It does not seem likely, as he did not make claim or title to it as mentioned above. He may have mistakenly believed that it was his for life. *CRGI*, 8: 552, 713-714.
  189. Andrew's brothers Anthony and Jacob received the same amount. His sister Ann received the rest of the money as well as her father's properties. Deed Book M, Philadelphia City Archives, Pennsylvania, 309.
  190. Deed Book 17, 42; Deed Book 21, 1763-64, 1-3, 36, 39; Court Order Book, 1763-5, 41a.
  191. Duche's insurance policy read as follows: "Andrew Duche of the City of Bath, Gent. On his House only situate in Frog Lane in the Parish of St. Michael in the said City Occupied by Richard Norton Chairman/ a small part backwards timber/ not exceeding £60. the following in a Court behind & adjoining said House Vizt. Tenement only in the tenure of Thomas Harris Mason not exceeding 100. Two Tenements only in the tenure of John Dagger Labourer & Toby Alcock Cabinetmaker not exceeding fifty pounds on each 100. Another Tenement only Stone Timber & tiled in the tenure of Samuel Cline Chairman not exceeding 40: £300 All Stone & Tiled." It is not known how long Duche stayed in Bath or even when he arrived. *Boddeley's Bath Journal* and *Pope's Bath Chronicle* published a list of Bath arrivals each week, but Duche's name did not appear on either list from 1763-9. His stay in Bath was not as newsworthy as that of such nobles as the Arundels, the Duke of York, and Lord and Lady Cholmondeley, all of whom did make the headlines. Sun Insurance Company Records, vol. 158, Policy 217602, Guildhall Manuscript 11936/158, Guildhall Library, London, courtesy Elizabeth Adams.
  192. A few days later, on 21 June, the same lot was also transferred to Neil Jameson. Jameson and Tankard were Ellegood's estate executors. Ellegood had been indebted to Duche for £1500. Deed Book 24, 144-5, 163, 190.
  193. Deed Book 24, 1767-70, 220.
  194. A chariot was a closed carriage with three passenger seats and a coach box for the driver. Land Deeds 17, Philadelphia Records Archives, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, 230-34; Hood, "Andrew Duche," 180; "Big Wheels in Philadelphia, Du Simitiere's List of Carriage Owners," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 95 (1971): 359.
  195. Philadelphia City & County Tax and Exoneration Lists: 17th of the 18 Penny Tax, A3 XIV, 223-468, 1774, Philadelphia City Archives; Arthur W. Clement, "The Problem of Andrew Duche," *Antiques*, 53, no. 1 (Jan. 1948): 70; Tait, "The Bow Factory," 201.
  196. Tax and Exoneration Lists, 1769, 175-?.
  197. Graham Hood, *Bonnin and Morris of Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1972), 11-20.
  198. Albert Frank Gegenheimer, "Artist in Exile: The Story of Thomas Spence Duche," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (1955): 3-26.
  199. Philadelphia Deed Book. R, 109; Hommel, "First Porcelain," no. 9: 3.



200. Hugh Tait agreed with Hommel's total. Hood, however, listed Duche's property as being worth over £4000, with the exception of his Georgia and Norfolk properties. The discrepancy could be explained by the possibility that Hood included the value of Duche's Philadelphia property in his total, as he did not mention it separately. Hommel, "First Portcelain," no. 9, 3; Hugh Tait, "The Bow Factory," 195-216; Hood, "Andrew Duche," 181.
201. Information courtesy of Eleanor M. Thompson, Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur Museum, Delaware.
202. Giannini, "Anthony Duche," 201
203. Duche's will named John as "my nephew John Duche son of my brother Anthony," who, in addition to receiving some money, received Andrew's "Lott of land in Norfolk in Virginia on which I formerly lived." On 27 December 1778 John and Jean, his wife, sold the Norfolk property described as "at corner at intersection of street leading to County Wharff and a 14' street, along this 14' street north 55' west 56' 9" X 51' 8" along the line of Stephen Tankard," to the Portsmouth merchant George Kelly for 1375. Deed Book 27, 131a; *Macpherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia...* (Philadelphia, 1785); Francis White, *Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1785); Clement Biddle, *Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1791).
204. The Reverend Jacob Duche, Andrew's nephew, was also involved in politics during the American Revolution, and eventually he became about as well-loved in Philadelphia as Andrew had been in Savannah. He officiated at the First General Congress of the Colonies on 5 September 1774 and opened the Second Congress with prayer on 10 May 1775. Two of his sermons, one preached 7 July 1775 before the First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, and the other preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia before the Continental Congress, were published. Although he had been elected Chaplain of the Continental Congress, when he heard rumors that British troops were advancing on Philadelphia, he wrote George Washington, claiming that he had been wrong to uphold the position of the colonies. After he was released from prison for making these treasonous statements, he spent most of the Revolution in England. After the Americans won, Jacob again wrote Washington, claiming that he had been forced by the British to write his earlier letter and that he had actually been on the side of the Americans. Washington would not allow his return until 1793. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 2 (1787): 61-7; Lorenzo Sabine, *The American Loyalists or Biographical Sketches of Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution; Alphabetically Arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay* (Boston, 1847), 263-6; Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1948), 259.
205. John Duche was not the only Duche who owned property in Southwark. In fact, it appears that Andrew Duche was the only member of the family that did not possess Southwark land. Anthony, before he died, Anthony, Jr., Swanson, William, and John, as well as Andrew Doz, all owned property on either side of Catharine Street in Southwark between Swanson, Front, and Moyaminsing (or Second) Streets. Shippen Family Maps, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, #649.962, courtesy of Robert L. Giannini; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 Aug. 1774, 21 Feb. 1776.
206. Robert K. Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies* (Columbia, S. C., 1977), 94.

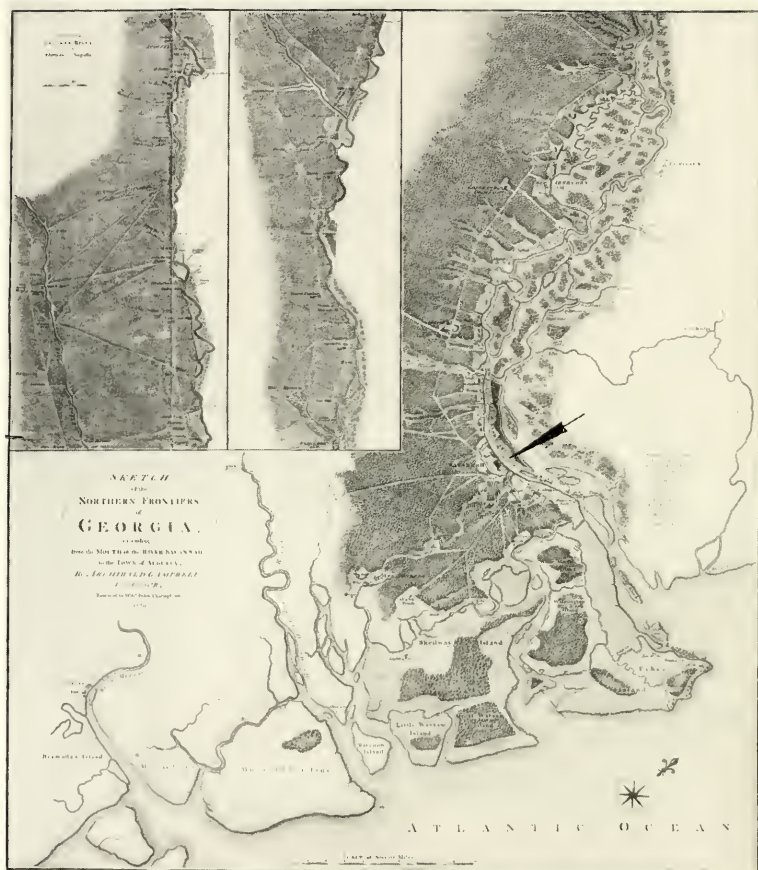


Figure 1. Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia, extending from the Mouth of the River Savannah to the Town of Augusta, by Archibald Campbell Lieut. Col. 71st Regt. Engraved by Willm. Faden Charing Crofs [London] 1780. 23 1/2 " x 27 1/2 " The arrow indicates Savannah. Collection of Hargett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,300.

## *Other Savannah River Potters, 1736-1814.*

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

Andrew Duche's abandonment of both the province of Georgia and his pottery, discussed in Rauschenberg's "Andrew Duche: A Potter 'a Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks,'" did not mean that the production of pottery had also completely ground to a halt in Georgia and South Carolina. In Savannah (fig. 1), William Ewen apparently had taken over Duche's kiln and duties by 1749, maintaining both until the early 1760s when he became actively involved in Georgia's government. It is not known who, if anyone, took over the pottery after Ewen gave it up.<sup>1</sup> Early ceramic historians concluded that two news items, both published in November 1764, documented the existence of work in porcelain in Georgia that year. The first, a brief item in Savannah's *Georgia Gazette* of 1 November 1764 read: "EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE . . . London . . . August 17. We hear that there is a scheme on foot in Georgia, to introduce a manufactory of China porcelain, after the manner of that carried on at Dresden." The other, according to Alice Morse Earle's *China Collecting in America*, ran in the *Bristol Journal* in England on 24 November 1764: "This week, some pieces of porcelain manufactured in Georgia was imported; the materials appear to be good, but the workmanship is far from being admired."<sup>2</sup>

At first glance, these pieces appear to document further porcelain experiments inspired by Duche's. However, it is odd that there is no documentation of these experiments in the Georgia colonial records, or in any other editions of the Georgia newspapers. It is also strange that information on porcelain experiments in Georgia published in a Savannah newspaper had to come from London before they were printed. Would not the *Georgia Gazette* be able to carry the direct news of these trials without waiting for the information to come from London? All of this seems somewhat bizarre; however, it makes sense if, instead, the idea that the experiments were being carried on in Georgia in what is now the United Soviet Socialist Republic is considered. In the eighteenth century, Georgia was an independent state and considered part of Europe, hence the news item under the heading "EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE."

Did anyone take over Ewen's pottery? It has been suggested that a man named Samuel Bowen did. *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques* even went as far as to call him a porcelain maker and to state that Bowen actually occupied Duche's potworks in 1745. That statement is erroneous for several reasons. First, there were no records of Bowen's living and working in Savannah or Georgia until 1765. Also, the idea that Bowen was a potter comes from another Earle quote: "In 1766, the English Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce gave a gold medal to Mr. Samuel Bowen, with the inscription that it was given to him 'for his useful observations in china and industrious application of them in Georgia.'"<sup>3</sup> Arthur Clement took this information and assumed that an entry in the Journal of the Georgia House of Commons on 25 March 1768, "Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received a Letter from Mr. Samuel Bowen returning thanks to this House for the benefits he had received by their recommendation of him to Charles Garth, Esq.," referred to Bowen's being responsible for shipping Cherokee clay from Georgia to Bristol, with the brief explanation that Charles Garth was the London agent of the colony of Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

In the Georgia records and newspapers, Bowen was not identified as a potter, a porcelain maker, or anyone familiar with the properties of Georgia clay, and the wording of his land grant applications imply that he was a planter. In May 1765, he advertised that two of his horses were missing. His first application for land, 600 acres, dated 3 September 1765, stated that he had "had no land granted him and was desirous to obtain land for Cultivation having a wife and six Negroes."<sup>5</sup> Also, some time between 15 August 1765 and 4 March 1766, Bowen purchased a plantation from Grey Elliott, Esq., about five miles from Savannah.<sup>6</sup> These applications gave no indication that he was a potter.

Further research into his career revealed that Bowen was awarded the gold medal for his work in the cultivation of plants from which the drug sago was manufactured.<sup>7</sup> Sago is a starchy grain found in China and was used in that period as a restorative. The "observations in china and the application of them in Georgia," he was commended for, therefore, were his useful observations in China, not on china. The "Benefits he had received" mentioned in his letter to the speaker of the Georgia House of Commons were probably connected with his commendation. Bowen died in the 1780s.<sup>8</sup>

It appears that pottery production in Georgia's Savannah River area was abandoned about fifteen years after Duche had left the

province. A probable assumption to make is that, although he was granted the public lot he asked for from the Georgia government in 1755, Ewen did not construct another potworks on the property.<sup>9</sup> From the 1760s until 1797, there was no contemporary documentation of any potters working in the area of Georgia Duche had made his domain. Then, on 25 April 1797, the following notice ran in a Savannah newspaper: "Brick & Tile Manufactory. MR. RADIGUEY, Takes the liberty of informing the Public; that he has established a Manufacture, between the Plantation of Mr. Clay, and the town of Savannah, where may be had, Bricks, Tiles and Earthenware of all kinds. He has now on hand a quantity of Square-Files [*sic*] extremely useful and convenient for paving Ovens and Chimneys. He, also, would wish to hire some Negroes, either as work men or apprentices."<sup>10</sup>



Figure 2. Detail of Savannah from John McKinnon's c. 1800 map of Savannah and surrounding wards after his Savannah, March 28, 1798, manuscript map. The arrow indicates the probable location of Charles Radiguey's manufactory. Dimensions not recorded. From the Collection of the Georgia Historical Society. MRF S-15,301.

Mr. Radiguey was Charles Radiguey, and the plantation of Mr. Clay was Joseph Clay's (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Apparently Radiguey was a French royalist who had fled to Charleston to escape the Jacobin army!<sup>12</sup> In his will of 22 October 1798 he identified his birthplace as "Mortray in the formerly Province of Normandia in France," adding that he had been an "Inhabitant of Quartin D'augen Island of St. Domingo."



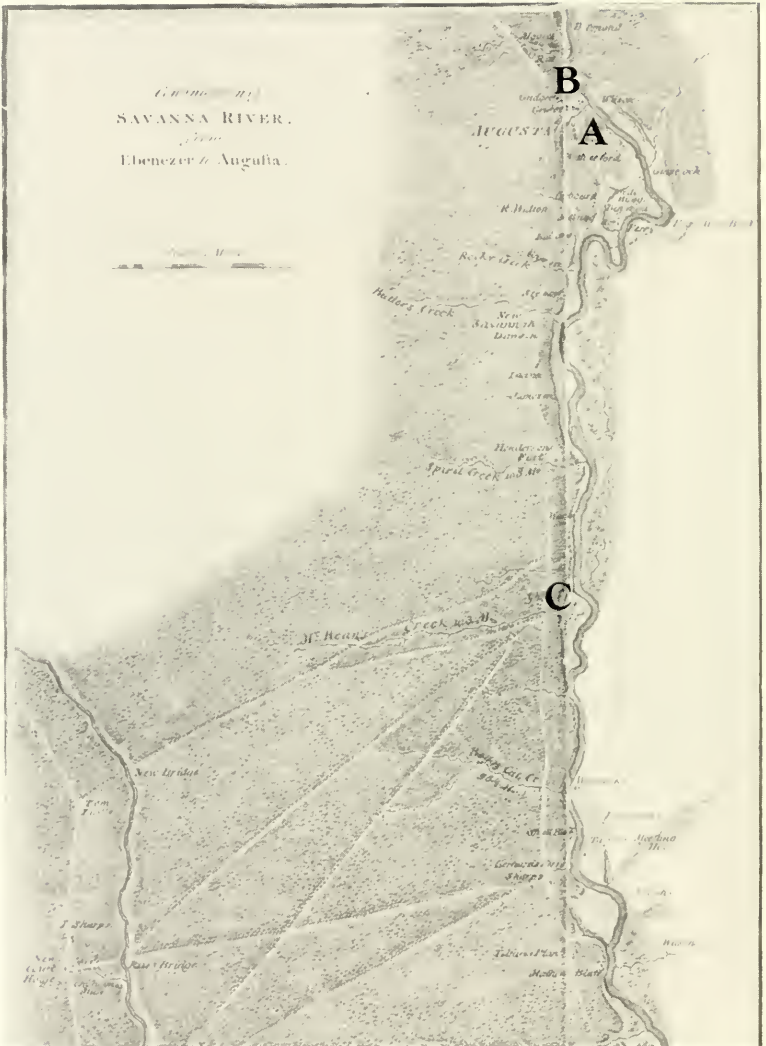


Figure 3. Detail of fig. 1, showing (A) Augusta, (B) Rae's Creek, and (C) McBean's Creek.

His will was probated on 31 October and an inventory of his estate was taken the same day. His materials on hand indicated that he was only a brickmaker: "Eighty Thousand or thereabouts of Row Bricks at \$9 pr. yd., a lump of square burnt bricks valued at ten thousand or thereabouts at \$8, 2 Thousand 5 hundred well Do . . . at [\$]9, 12 Cords pine wood or thereabouts at [\$]2.50." The remaining items were limited to household goods. Either Radiguey never branched into the production of earthenware, despite his advertisement, or there was none at the time of the inventory.<sup>13</sup>

Radiguey's death did not end the production of domestic pottery along the Savannah River in Georgia. Further up the river at Augusta, about four years later, "Major" Nathaniel Durkee of Augusta announced on 7 August 1801 that persons interested in renting his pasture could apply at his pottery (fig. 3), at the old Academy, with Mr. Fouts, the head workman."<sup>14</sup> It appears that Durkee had been a resident of Augusta for at least a year before he inserted the above notice, for on 20 August 1800, Nathaniel Durkee, Jr., son of Major Nathaniel Durkee of Augusta, died in Augusta. Underneath Durkee's 7 August 1801 announcement was the following notice:

POTTEYY. The Subscriber begs leave to inform the public, that he has been at a very considerable expence in establishing this business, as it requires time to find out the temperature of the different clays in this climate, he flatters himself that now he can furnish as good ware as any on the continent, if not better, as he has found out clay of a superior quality. He has on hand an assortment of ware, consisting of jugs of different sizes, milk pans, pickle potts, [sweet] meat jars, butter pots, bowls, mugs, flour pots, pitchers of all sizes, &c. which he is determined to sell on very low terms, and at one uniform price: Country store keepers can be supplied to great advantage, and their orders will be strictly attended to; any kind of produce will be received in payment. Those persons who want ware will please apply at the old Academy, on the river bank, where the Manufactory is established, and constant attendance will be given. N. DURKEE. N. B. Tile for covering houses, can be furnished at short notice, and warranted as good quality as any from Hamburgh, Liverpool, or Holland — A few thousand now on hand. N. D. Two apprentices wanted.<sup>15</sup>

Durkee apparently did not advertise in 1802, nor were his March 1803 advertisements concerned with the selling of his wares. A 26 March notice announced that he was selling his five hundred-acre property on Rae's Creek, "known by the name SUMMERVILLE," which among its outbuildings housed a pottery "at work."<sup>16</sup> Apparently, Durkee had given up the business by 28 January 1804 when he announced that he had opened a city hotel.<sup>17</sup>

Several 1803 announcements of sheriff's sales regarding Durkee's property being levied at the suits of his creditors indicate that Durkee's pottery business had not done well, or that he had overextended himself with credit. On 28 March 1804, Alexander County, Virginia, court records documented that a Nathaniel Durkee and his wife Catharine were the heirs of the estate of Robert McCrea, deceased. It is likely that he was the ex-potter, especially as he sold his hotel to Joseph Carrie before 9 March 1805, and disappeared from Georgia records.<sup>18</sup> He probably moved to Virginia after claiming his inheritance.

On 9 December 1813, Henry Evans advertised that earthenware was available for sale "at the Pottery, near the Indian Springs, within two miles of Augusta, THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES OF EARTHENWARE. Milk Pans, Mugs, Bowls, Pots, Jugs, Jars, Dishes, Plates, Wash Basons, Pitchers and Flower Pots. Also — several other articles of WARE. Henry Evans."<sup>19</sup> There were at least three more advertisements concerning the wares of the Indian Springs pottery, but the potter's name was not mentioned, and it is not known whether Evans was a potter or not. The last advertisement pertaining to the Indian Springs pottery found at this writing was dated 16 September 1814, and the subscriber identified himself as "Hightower Davis, Manager for the proprietor of the Pottery."<sup>20</sup> The old name for Indian Springs was Summerville, and Summerville was the name of the plantation Durkee advertised for sale in 1803 as being on Rae's Creek and housing a pottery. Thus, although it appears that the pottery changed ownership from Durkee to Evans to Davis, the site remained in the same location, and only the name was changed.<sup>21</sup>

South Carolina fared somewhat better than Georgia in producing pottery in the post-Duche years, but only because of the work of John Bartlam in the 1760s and 1770s; this will be the subject of the November 1991 *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*. There is also evidence that South Carolinians maintained an interest in importing clay to England and elsewhere from the time of Alexander

Garden's letters to Baker on. Before that time, the existence and activities of potters on the Savannah River in South Carolina are almost as elusive as those of the Georgians. In fact, only a few oblique references to two men in Purrysburgh (fig. 4) suggest that any potters worked in that area at all from 1745 to the 1760s.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 4. Detail of fig. 1, showing (A) Savannah and (B) Purrysburgh.



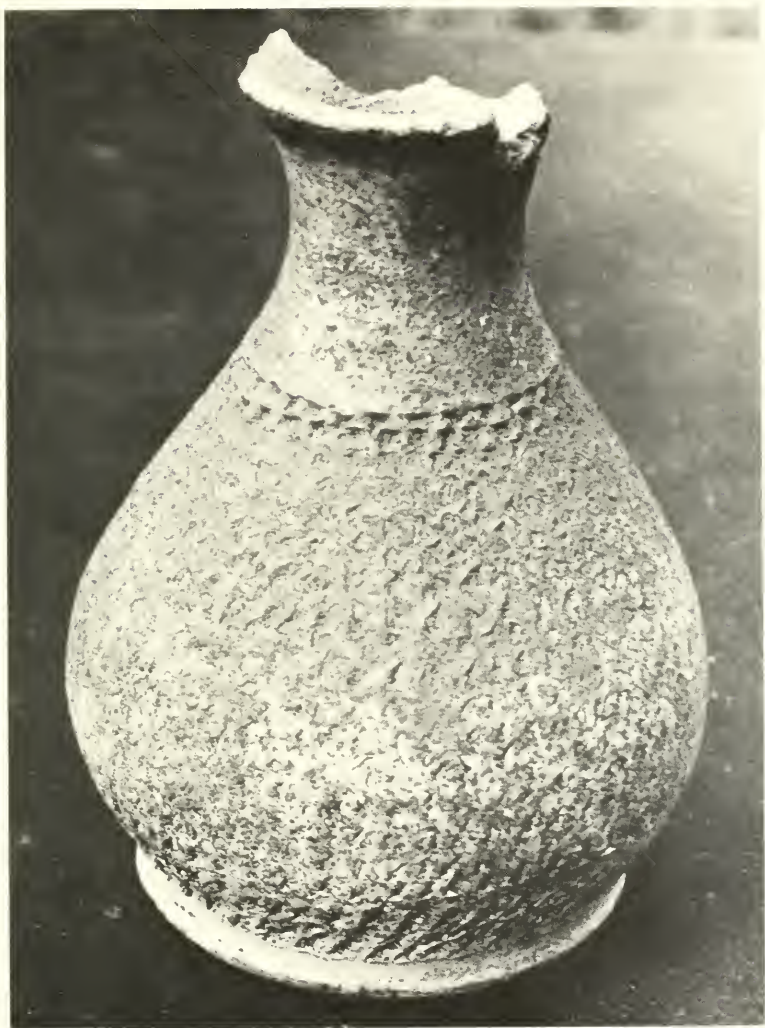
On 22 November 1745, Andrew Grenier (also Greignier) “Poter in Purysburgh, Granville County” made out his will.<sup>23</sup> It is unfortunate that there seems to be very little information on Grenier. In his will, Grenier stated that he had a sister named Mary, another sister, Henriette, and a brother, Francis. He appointed his wife (unnamed) executrix of his estate, and he died at some point between 22 November and 20 December 1745 when his will was probated. When an inventory of his estate, total value £177:16:6, was taken on 7 January 1752, Margaret Row, late Margaret Grenier, was named executrix. The presence of 120 pounds of lead “@ 4d. sterling @ 2/6 . . . £14” in Grenier’s inventory indicates that he indeed was a potter. He probably was trained by Duche and may have turned out earthenware similar to Duche’s in Purrysburgh after 1742.<sup>24</sup>

In the *Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques*, it is mentioned that Henry Gossman, the “‘son of a very poor helpless widow of Purisburg, South Carolina’. . . was . . . ‘bound to a potter’ ” at the age of eighteen, and that publication also suggested that the potter to whom Gossman was bound was Samuel Bowen.<sup>25</sup> No such apprentice indenture has been found. Gossman could not have been bound out to Bowen, because Bowen was not a potter. If he were apprenticed to a potter, it is most likely that he was apprenticed to Grenier; however, “bound to a potter” may have been misconstrued, for bound also was used to indicate a debt.

Of all the Georgia and South Carolina potters, Gossman is the most elusive. In fact, there are no records that he existed at all. A Henry Gasman was granted lot 182 in Purrysburgh on 16 September 1738. If Gossman were eighteen in 1745, then it can be assumed that the Gasman mentioned above, if he was any connection at all, was Gossman’s father. On 9 November 1772, a plat made out to John, Jacob, Henry, Susannah, and Catherine Strobhar mentioned a Henry Gosman whose property lay east of that granted the Strobhars.<sup>26</sup> Nothing else is known about this Gosman; his trade was not mentioned in the plat. Either the *Concise Encyclopedia of Antiques* once again was in error, or Gossman never practiced his trade.

Although the documentary evidence found on those who actually were potters in the Savannah River area has been encouraging, the physical evidence has not surfaced as easily. Currently there are no ceramic forms or sherds that can be attributed to any of the potters discussed in this article; however, two small bulbous jugs and a two-handled jug that have strong Augusta area histories have been found, and eventually they may be identified as products of one of the Savannah River potteries. Although several ceramic historians





*Figure 5. Earthenware jug, Georgia? 1736-1814. HOA 5 3/4", WOA (at mouth) 2", WOA (at foot) 3 1/4". Private collection. MRF S- 15,302.*



*Figure 6. Earthenware jug, Georgia? 1736-1814. HOA 6"; WOA 4". 14 The Ferrell Collection. MRF S-15,303.*

have examined these pieces, no one has yet been able to offer a more specific attribution.

These jugs were discovered at different times by different people. The first (fig. 5) was bought in the late 1960s from an antiques shop in North Augusta. At that time three similar jugs with traditions of having been made in Hamburg, South Carolina, were in circulation, but an attempt to locate them was not productive.<sup>27</sup> However, another example (fig. 6) was found, in what was known in the 1960s as "the Augusta dig," in the McBean Creek area (see fig. 3) of Georgia. McBean Creek is below Augusta, and although this is not a specific region, it does reinforce the jug's Augusta area history. With this piece, a large portion (fig. 7) of what was an unusual jug form with two opposing handles was also excavated.

These examples are high-fired, heavy, and their paste is a chalky white color that suggests a high kaolin content. They are comparable in weight, color, hardness, and size. While the two jugs are not glazed, the two-handled piece has the remains of what appears to be an immature reddish glaze on both its exterior and the interior of its flared mouth. All three were wheel-thrown and exhibit a very similar angular finishing technique on their feet; however, the bulbous jugs are further defined by ringed feet. They were also decorated in a manner not encountered before in southern ceramics. Apparently a coggle wheel was used to decorate the jugs as they were being turned. The design created is a triangular or square shape, and it was applied in a parallel pattern with more pressure below the necks and near the feet than on the waists.

The two-handled jug is very unusual, for the lower portion of its body was abruptly thickened by an angular rib while it was being thrown. The bulbous jugs, on the other hand, were wheel thrown and shaped by hand, not a rib. What is left of the mouth of the two-handled example was flared much like those of the other jugs.

These jugs are quite unlike anything yet found in Georgia or South Carolina. It seems likely, that if they were made by any of the potters working in the Savannah River area after Duche left, the most likely candidates are Nathaniel Durkee or Henry Evans. However, the idea that Duche produced these pieces while he was in New Windsor (now North Augusta), or that Radiguey made them in Savannah, or that Grenier produced them in Purrysburg cannot be dismissed. There is also the possibility that there was still another Savannah River area potter churning them out, and he has yet to surface in the documents or through archaeology.



*Figure 7. Earthenware jug, Georgia? 1736-1814. HOA 6", WOA 4". The two opposing handles are missing. The Ferrell Collection. MRF S-15,304.*

This article demonstrates the massive amount of work that still needs to be done in the study of the Savannah River potters. It is hoped that ceramic historians, archaeologists, and collectors will be spurred on to further investigation. It is possible that, using the documents discussed in this article and other land records of the area, specific portions of the Savannah River region will be identified for future archaeological excavations in the search for clues that will finish the story of these potters and their wares.

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## FOOTNOTES

1. For a full discussion of Ewen's activities in Savannah, see Rauschenberg's "Andrew Duche: A Potter 'A Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks,'" in this issue of this journal.
2. Arthur W. Clement, *Our Pioneer Potters* (New York, 1947), 57; Ann Finer and George Savage, eds., *The Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1965), 271. See also Hugh Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol* (London, 1873), 7.
3. Helen Comstock, ed., *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques*, 2 vols. (New York, 1958), 1: 217; *Georgia Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1765; Clement, *Pioneer Potters*, 57.
4. *CRGI*, 24: 575-6; Clement, *Pioneer Potters*, 57.
5. The grant was not valid until the following year. *CRGI*, 9: 401.
6. *Georgia Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1765; *CRGI*, 9: 401.
7. The manuscript records of the Royal Society of Arts for 27 May 1766 state that Samuel Bowen was awarded the Society's Gold Medal for "Sago and Vermicelli . . . the culture of these useful productions in the discovery of which in British America is owing to his useful Observations in several Parts of China and his industrious application of these observations in Georgia." On 14 August 1770, Bowen advertised in Charleston that he had been granted a patent "as An Encouragement towards the Cultivation of PLANTS in the British American Colonies, FROM which the very useful Drug SAGO, or SALU'PE, is manufactured." D. G. C. Allan, Curator-Librarian, Royal Society of Arts, London, letter to author, 1 Nov. 1984; *Charleston South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 14 Aug. 1770.
8. *Royal Savannah Gazette*, 3 Jan. 1782.
9. *CRGI*, 7: 142-3.
10. *Georgia Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, 25 Apr. 1797.
11. The 2 December estate sale for Joseph Clay revealed many land holdings in Savannah and surrounding counties. His plantation was named Springfield and contained "885 Acres, lying on both sides of Musgroves Creek" . . . This property is in the township of Savannah. Savannah, *Georgia Republican*, 2 Dec. 1806.
12. On 21 August 1793, the following advertisement appeared in the *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*: "Two French Coopers, obliged to take refuge in this city, after having experienced all the horrors of the conflagration of Cape-Francois, perfectly acquainted in every line of their profession, wish to find particular employment, or to be employed at the store of any person of the same trade. Another young French man, likewise escaped from the flames of that unfortunate city, wishes to find any person who would establish a manufacture of every kind of earthenware, varnished and unvarnished [glazed and unglazed], for the use of kitchens; also stoves, flat tiles and other utensils in that line, too long to be enumerated." The conflagration mentioned in the advertisement referred to the slave and Jacobin uprisings in St. Domingo during 1791-3, which led to burning of cane fields and houses and the sacking of Cape-Francais in June 1793. J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies* (London, 1971), 163-5.
13. He named his wife, Mary Francis Sisard, born in Paris, as his only heir. Lewis Nicholas Al-lard and Mr. Francis Saineric served as executors. The total value of his estate was \$1067.25. Wills, Vol. A, 1775-1801, Chatham County, Ga., 330; Inventories and Appraisements, 1794-1805, Chatham County, Ga., 156.
14. The advertisement first appeared on 7 August 1801. *Georgia Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 8 Aug. 1801.
15. "The old Academy" most likely refers to the Richmond Academy which first opened its doors in 1785 at the corner of present-day Bay and Fourth Streets by the river in Augusta. At some point it was moved elsewhere, reopening in November 1802. *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 4 Sept. 1800; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, 1 Apr. 1785; *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 22 Jan. 1803.

16. Rae's Creek enters the Savannah River at what is now the Augusta National Golf Course, just outside the northern city limits of Augusta. The exact location of the five hundred acres known as Summerville has not been found; however, Indian Springs is just inside the city limits of Augusta and therefore raises the prospects for future archaeology. Edward J. Cashin, History Dept., Augusta College, conversation with author, 9 April 1991. See also Edward Cashin, *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta, Ga., 1980), 59. Cashin explains that Summerville was not only the name of Durkee's acreage but also another, later settlement.
17. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, 5, 26 Mar. 1803, 28 Jan. 1804.
18. *Ibid.*, 12 Mar. 1803, 3 Sept. 1803, 3; Circuit Court Records, no. 4, Alexander County, Va., Virginia State Library, Richmond, 157; *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*, 9 Mar. 1805.
19. *Augusta Herald*, Georgia, 9 Dec. 1813.
20. *Georgia Augusta Chronicle*, 2 June, 5 Aug., 16 Sept. 1814.
21. Ed Cashin, History Department, and Marguerite Fogleman, Library, Augusta College, Georgia, letter to author, 1 Nov. 1984; Robert M. Willingham, Jr., Former Curator Special Collections Department, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.
22. For a history and town plan of Purrysburgh, see Henry A. M. Smith, "Purrysburgh," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 10 (1909): 187-219.
23. Andrew Grenier and Mary Grenier were listed as Andrew Duche's servants in a list of European emigrants to Georgia, and may even have worked with him in Charleston and Savannah. A Mrs. Grenier advertised on 31 May 1735 in the *South Carolina Gazette* in Charleston that she lived on Broad Street at Mr. Samuel Glaser's where she took in needlework. It is possible that she was Andrew Grenier's wife; however, there was another family of Greniers in South Carolina in the 1720s to 1740s, so there may not have been a connection. E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, eds., *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens, 1949), 77; Henry A. M. Smith, "Purrysburgh," *SCHGM*, 10 (1909): 187-219; Charleston County Record of Wills, 1747-52, 476; Charleston County Wills, 6, 1747-52, 573.
24. Record of Wills, 1747-52, 476; Wills, Etc., 79 (1751-53): 186.
25. Comstock, *Concise Encyclopedia*, 217.
26. The Strobhars were a family of planters. Henry A. Smith, "Purrysburgh," 214.; Colonial Plats, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, 21: 163.
27. *Historic Augusta, Inc.*, 9, no. 3 (Fall 1978), 5.

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